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Carlucci Speech on NATO Strategy Criticized

LD3011000688 Moscow TASS in English 2309 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

U.S. Secretary of Defence Frank C. Carlucci delivered a speech at an international symposium in Washington, which was devoted to the forthcoming 40th anniversary of NATO.

In that speech, Carlucci mapped out an "agenda" of the North Atlantic Alliance for the future.

He had to admit present-day realities in the world, specifically "promising changes underway in the Soviet Union" and the need for NATO's "extensive activeness" in the field of arms control.

At the same time, the whole of the speech by the defence secretary was marked by the traditional "Atlantic" spirit.

His "agenda" for NATO boiled down to demands that the bloc's military machine be further strengthened, armaments be built up and modernised, military expenditures of U.S. allies be increased, and the strategy of "flexible response" preserved.

Especially surprising is the "double standard" with respect to the U.S. and the Soviet Union and to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, advocated by Carlucci in his speech.

He proposes to base NATO's defence preparedness on actual Soviet military capabilities. It follows from his speech that NATO has the right to take into account in its military development capabilities of the other side, but denies the same right to Warsaw Treaty countries.

Carlucci regrets the lack of "any change in the arms or the positioning of Warsaw Pact forces", although there have been no changes of the kind on the part of NATO, either.

So what is the worth of his rhetoric about considerable military reductions on the basis of parity and stability in the light of such statements?

Moreover, the Pentagon chief proclaimed the need for NATO to "maintain modernised military forces" irrespective of the future character or disposition of the Soviet Armed Forces.

A question arises here: Does the Pentagon really need future talks on reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, aimed at removing the imbalance and asymmetry on both sides, substantially reducing troops and armaments, and changing the structure and the positioning of the armed forces of the two sides in such a way as to make them sufficient only for defence, rather than offensive actions?

Apparently, it does not, since, in Carlucci's view, all these parameters should remain unchanged for NATO in any case.

The U.S. secretary of defence tries to intimidate U.S. allies by hackneyed statements that the central strategic aims of the Soviet Union are to "foster the disintegration of NATO and induce Western nations to relax their defence efforts".

However, socialist countries have set forth a programme for reductions in armed forces and armaments that would be mutual for both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, rather than be unilateral for NATO.

The programme's implementation would help to really relax military efforts of the East and West.

As to NATO's "disintegration", Carlucci is at variance with reality: The aim of the Soviet Union and its allies is to dismantle both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO and create a system of comprehensive security.

So why did the Pentagon chief need all this rhetoric? The answer to this question can be found in his speech.

Carlucci deplores the Western public's "sensitivity about needed nuclear modernisation" and perception of a "diminished Soviet military threat".

He frankly admits he can bring "no secret formula to breach these obstacles".

So he has to use long-hackneyed cliches and stereotypes.

Chervov Criticizes NATO 'Propaganda' on Arms

LD2911225588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Soviet delegation at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE member states held a press conference in connection with the document on the correlation of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, which has been circulated by the NATO countries here.

[Correspondent V. Mikheyev, identified by screen caption] The head of the delegation, Ambassador Yuriy Borisovich Kashlev, and Colonel General Chervov, who is in Vienna, pointed out that instead of a positive response to the proposal by Warsaw Pact states on an exchange of official data on troops and armaments, the NATO countries have again embarked on circulating

purely propagandist publications that are based on double-entry bookkeeping and that distort the true picture. Whipping up the myth about the overwhelming military superiority of Soviets does not help to create a business-like atmosphere in the buildup to the upcoming crucial talks on a reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, and the data that has been circulated by the NATO countries cannot be accepted as a basis for these talks.

The delegations of the neutral member countries at the Vienna meeting also condemned NATO's attempts to use the pan-European forum for unilateral propagandist acts.

[Begin Chervov recording] I consider the main thing to be the fact that many participants in the news conference are now wondering why and for whom this data was published. They cannot serve as a basis for talks. This has been officially stated by the U.S. side, and many of those at the news conference agree with this. This has all been conjured up purely for propaganda purposes.

The Warsaw Pact states have officially proposed, on a mutual basis and at governmental level, to exchange information on the military potential of the two alliances, and to exchange information on talks, including holding on-site inspections. In my opinion, many participants in the conference, particularly those of the Western countries, did not clearly and with sufficient precision grasp this position of the Warsaw Pact. They have now managed to work it out. [end recording] [video shows Kashlev and Chervov and other unidentified persons seated at table addressing newsmen; Chervov being interviewed]

Obstacles to Strategic Arms Accord Examined

PM2911183388 Moscow TRUD in Russian
26 Nov 88 p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nazarenko article: "Political Will Is Necessary on the Path of Elaborating an Agreement on a 50-Percent Reduction in Strategic Offensive Arms"]

[Text] The progress that has already been made in the talks between the USSR and the United States on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms has at the same time made it possible to highlight more clearly the problems that are still impeding the conclusion of a mutually acceptable agreement.

Thus, the Soviet side puts the stress on the accord secured by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan on ensuring that the USSR and the United States observe the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972 and do not depart from it for an agreed period.

I consider this accord to be fundamental. One of the terms of the treaty reads as follows: "Effective steps to limit ABM systems would be an essential factor in curbing the arms race and would lead to a reduction in the danger of the outbreak of war involving the use of nuclear weapons." In fact without the foundation of this treaty, the development of ABM defenses would not only have been encouraged, but to be blunt, they would have provoked a buildup in strategic offensive arms aimed at overcoming the "space shield."

All the indications are that while participating in the talks to limit surface-based strategic offensive arms, the United States is endeavoring at the same time to create conditions to build up such weapons in space. Washington has found itself in a position where the signing of a strategic offensive arms agreement would virtually mean having to abandon the implementation of the "Strategic Defense Initiative."

As we know, the Reagan administration was not prepared to abandon SDI. Where is the way out then? In my opinion, there is one. Agreeing on a period during which strategic offensive arms would be reduced and the ABM treaty would remain in force would open the way for the advantages of mutual arms reductions to be graphically demonstrated. Then the U.S. side would finally determine the advisability of further work on SDI. There are also incentives for this: It is impossible to test the real effectiveness of the "space shield." That's obvious; yet, the other side can at less expense create systems and measures to effectively counter such a shield.

The question of limiting long-range sea-launched cruise missiles [SLCM] has been another equally serious obstacle on the road to an agreement. The U.S. Navy intends to equip up to 200 multipurpose nuclear submarines and surface ships with these weapons by the mid-1990's. Although the United States refuses to consider these weapons strategic, when long-range SLCM's are launched from the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans, the Soviet Union's territory is within range.

Without denying the need to limit these weapons in principle, the United States claims that the problem is insoluble owing to the lack of an effective monitoring system. The following Soviet proposals were rejected on this pretext:

"on organizing mutual inspections on demand";

"on conducting an experiment on long-range monitoring of the presence of SLCM's on ships using technical means";

"on setting a limit of 1,000 units of long-range cruise missiles when deploying them on a previously determined number of agreed types of submarines and surface ships."

As a matter of fact, the United States is trying to remove its SLCM's from the limitations of the strategic offensive arms agreement. Considering the current U.S. stance on space arms, it is logical to suppose that Washington

wants to break up strategic offensive arms into systems, some (where the USSR is equal or superior) liable to reductions and some (where the United States has the edge) excluded from reductions.

However, I think that it is difficult to count on a radical reduction in strategic offensive arms if it does not cover the areas of the arms race that give one side the potential chance to evade a future treaty. Under these conditions the question of a sense of genuine U.S. responsibility to the future and of political will to overcome the deadlocks is coming to the fore. Evidently, there is something for the U.S. Administration to seriously think about here.

Chemical Weapons Talks Enter 10th Round

LD2911150388 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Geneva November 29 TASS—Soviet-American consultations for a ban on chemical weapons went into their 10th regular round here today.

In keeping with an understanding reached between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in November 1985, the consultations have been held to discuss all aspects of the problem of a general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and destruction of all their stocks, including verification issues.

The Soviet delegation to the consultations is being led by Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin, representative of the USSR to the disarmament conference. The U.S. delegation is being led by Ambassador Max Friedersdorf, U.S. representative to the conference.

Levin Questions U.S. Position

LD3011095288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] The 10th round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on banning chemical weapons has begun in Geneva. Viktor Levin has this report:

[Levin] On the agenda now is the preparation of the convention on universal banning and elimination of chemical weapons. This question is being examined at various forums at the UN General Assembly, at the disarmament conference in Geneva, and in bilateral talks.

In the course of Soviet-U.S. consultations, special attention is being paid to unresolved questions regarding the future convention, and also to confidence-building measures. Here, everything is still far from being determined and the experts have things to discuss. We are, for example, concerned about the fact that the United States wants to take private firms out from under the convention's control. This in point of fact, reserves for the United States large-scale opportunities to produce chemical weapons secretly. It should be said that the working out of an effective method of monitoring in the sphere of chemical weapons represents, even without this, a complex puzzle. One of the AFP reports from the UN's European headquarters in Geneva noted that it is quite easy to cheat in the sphere of chemical weapons. This view does not represent the fruit of the thoughts of a single French journalist. It proceeds from objective factors, too.

The United States is already producing so-called binarie weapons, in which the two components taken separately do not represent a danger. However, in combination they yield an extremely threatening poisonous substance. All the same, when speaking about drafting the convention on the universal banning and elimination of chemical weapons, I would like to turn attention not only to difficulties, but also to certain achievements. In the first place should be named the already-held visit by Soviet and U.S. specialists to the chemical weapons storage places in the United States and the USSR. Other states also bring their contribution to the solution of this highly complex problem. Thus the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia proposed to set up a zone free from chemical and nuclear weapons in central Europe. Bulgaria and Romania came out in favor of setting up the same zone in the Balkans. Great Britain put forward at the disarmament conference in Geneva documents which are called upon to facilitate the drafting of the convention on banning and elimination of chemical weapons. A positive step also was taken by the Netherlands, which in July this year, as the first in the world, published a detailed list of national organizations and enterprises that could be subjected to any kind of international verification within the framework of an agreement on chemical weapons. In particular, I would like to note the position of France, which proposed holding an international conference on banning chemical weapons in Paris in January next year. Such a conference will take place.

It seems to me that the active involvement of many countries in the solution of the problem of the universal banning and elimination of chemical weapons is opening up a real path toward elimination of the remaining obstacles and to the working out of the convention.

NATO Accused of Holding 'Obsolete Concepts'

PM2911155788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[L. Ivanov article: "Nuclear Weapons and West European 'Defense.' New Thinking Versus Old Concepts"]

[Text] It has long been axiomatic in the West that it is impossible to put a stop to the arms race. Certain people still think that today. Politicians, they say, do their job—they argue, appeal, and make initiatives—and meanwhile the military does theirs. Admittedly, optimists have assured us that the arms race could be halted in certain places, but pessimists object that when military competition's internal momentum encounters barriers in one area it makes a breakthrough in another area. The conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles showed both optimists and skeptics that it is realistic not only to slow military competition but to actually destroy whole categories of the most destructive arms.

But this means that real global security can be based on entirely new principles. Their implementation would lead to a change in the nature and a substantial reduction in the level of East-West military confrontation, making it reasonably sufficient for defense.

The very possibility and pace of the necessary transformations depend on the speed with which the influence of obsolete concepts and stereotypes subsides in the international arena. The new thinking is evidence of the USSR's rapid and radical rejection of everything that is obsolete from the legacy of the past. As for the countries of West Europe, their leaders are in general reacting positively to the changes in Soviet foreign policy. They agree that the extremely tense situation that prevailed in the first half of the eighties should not be repeated, and that a great deal in the sphere of East-West political and military relations needs changing. However, many of them still believe that for the foreseeable future nuclear weapons should remain the main prop of NATO and West European security.

"Nuclear weapons have kept the peace in Europe for more than 40 years, and that is the longest period without war for many centuries. Is it worth returning to the endless military discord of the past?" is approximately how the politicians who advocate nuclear defense put forward their views to the public.

Indeed, there have been no wars in Europe since 1945. But there has been no lasting peace either. The military-political situation on the continent has repeatedly deteriorated. The height of tension was the 1961 Berlin crisis. As former U.S. President Nixon put it, Washington was repeatedly on the threshold of making the decision to use nuclear weapons, including in Europe. The deterrent each time was not the existence of nuclear weapons as such but the existence of an overall equilibrium of forces despite all the asymmetries existing within that equilibrium.

I think that the lesson of the past 40 years should be formulated differently: European security has indeed relied on an equilibrium of forces with a considerable nuclear component. But this system cannot prevent crises and even a nuclear catastrophe; its stability largely depends on chance occurrences.

Today it is hard to assess how events would have developed in Europe had there not been any nuclear weapons there. But two remarks should nonetheless be made. First, the very existence of deadly potentials on both sides is liable to generate tension. Second, the period of Europe's restoration coincided with the start of the scientific and technical revolution that has now extended to military affairs. The power of the next generation of conventional arms has risen sharply.

But we should nonetheless bear in mind that the restoration and development of economies in East and West have been accompanied by the massive construction of major chemical plants and nuclear power stations. At least some of these would be destroyed in any war. In this event a vast area would be contaminated and millions of people could be killed. That is why since the fifties the threat even of a conventional conflict has been strong enough to deter both sides.

Let us turn now to military arguments. NATO leaders explain the merits of nuclear weapons thus: They deter the use of similar arms on the other side, compensate for NATO's lag in the conventional arms sphere, and guarantee U.S. pledges to defend West Europe. On closer examination all these arguments are unconvincing. The first justification is most unsuitable following the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles agreement. Why deter a nuclear threat from the other side—albeit in not very reliable fashion—if the other side can avoid that threat on a reciprocal basis?

The second argument is as old as NATO itself. Previously it ran thus: The Red Army is so strong that it only needs boots to reach the Atlantic. In order to avert Soviet "aggression" NATO needs a nuclear "equalizer." Approximately the same thing is being said today, but in different words. Yet the United States has been carrying out comprehensive research on the correlation of NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional forces in Europe since the sixties.

Many experts (Smith and Enthoven, for instance) have concluded that proof of "Soviet superiority" is based primarily on blatant falsifications. The Western side's current statements about its backwardness are also without foundation. The April issue of AIR FORCE MAGAZINE quoted the following admission by NATO Supreme Allied Commander Galvin: In the last 18

months NATO has carried out more than 160 research projects into the balance of forces in Europe, and the leaders of these projects "did not reach a common opinion." Whence then the definite arguments from those who talk about NATO's weakness? To judge by the recent reports by D. Abshire, the former U.S. representative to NATO, and U.S. Senator C. Levin, it is not NATO that lags behind but the Warsaw Pact.

Argument three: Since the time that U.S. territory itself became vulnerable to retaliatory nuclear strikes, West Europe has suspected that Washington would like to limit to Europe any possible conflict between the blocs.

"The allies should not demand promises that the United States cannot make, or if it did make could not fulfill," former U.S. Secretary of State H. Kissinger stated back in 1979.

The calculation is based on the fact that the U.S. nuclear systems in West Europe targeted on the USSR will be used at the start of any war and will prompt a retaliatory strike against the United States. Washington would thereby be forced to directly participate in hostilities. Foreseeing the consequences of this, many West European leaders argue, both the USSR and the United States would show political and military "restraint."

These are the positions used in West Europe to justify the NATO leadership's reluctance to discuss dual-purpose systems—above all, those capable of long-range strikes—at conventional arms talks.

U.S. allies should not be reproached for completely lacking logic. The trouble, however, is that the premises underlying their arguments are dubious. On the one hand, as has been stated at all levels, there is no threat to West Europe from the Warsaw Pact. And even the West Europeans themselves admit that their Eastern neighbors correspond less and less to the image of the enemy. On the other hand, the United States categorizes its nuclear weapons in Europe—fighter-bombers the intermediate-range missiles that are now being withdrawn, and the proposed armaments to compensate for them—as "theater" weapons linked above all with limited conflicts.

The arms of Britain and France stand somewhat to one side of the nuclear dispute. Their existence is linked with the desire of the ruling circles of the two countries to play a larger international role and with the need to have within NATO an alternative decisionmaking center on the use of strategic weapons. Recently, however, there has been increasing talk in West Europe about the waning of U.S. interest in its NATO allies. And in this regard proposals are being made that in the event of a U.S. withdrawal from Europe London and Paris would undertake the role of nuclear guarantors for the neighboring countries. This is, so far, in the realm of theory but, nonetheless, the possibility is already stimulating a buildup in the nuclear potentials of both countries and winning "support and understanding" for it in certain West European capitals.

There is no point in repeating ourselves by making objections to the guardians of "European" nuclear weapons. But they could be told the following. The influence of countries is nowadays largely determined by the results of rival economies, while military potential plays an increasingly modest role. As for the creation of a military-political force center in West Europe, the decision on what nature to give to integration processes should be made by the West Europeans themselves, of course. In principle, an autonomous "European" cell within NATO could emerge oriented against the USSR (this would be much sought after in the United States), or there could be a relatively independent force center seeing rivals both across the Atlantic and beyond the Rhine.

The extensive development of cooperation within the framework of the "common European home" concept, which is becoming highly popular in West Europe, is in the general interest. But it will be difficult to implement if the continent retains or—even worse—builds up nuclear weapons, regardless of whom they belong to.

Although the notion of a "nonnuclear and nonviolent world" still has to win support among West European ruling circles, there has lately been a notable increase in the number of supporters of the idea. This is creating a difficult situation in West Europe. London and Paris are continuing to build up their nuclear forces. However, during his recent visit to the USSR, French President Francois Mitterrand reaffirmed that at a certain stage of the talks on strategic offensive arms, when tangible progress is achieved, France will take part in them.

Nor should we close our eyes to the fact that the facade of unanimous approval for the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles often hides thinly concealed annoyance on the part of a number of West European leaders. But there are also opponents of the idea of nuclear compensation for the consequences of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in West Europe. The Belgian defense minister openly opposed it at a recent NATO Nuclear Planning Group session. Bonn believes that the time has not yet come for "modernization," and a number of specialists see this position as a veiled "no." Spain insists on the withdrawal of U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers from its territory. West European liberal circles are discussing various options for a so-called alternative or nonoffensive defense.

All this inspires hope that the discussions in West Europe on the future of nuclear weapons will increase the number of people opposed to them. And this could be the guarantee of concrete steps toward their reduction and, ultimately, their complete destruction.

NATO Assembly Positions Called Contradictory

PM2511113688 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "North Atlantic Assembly Session Over"]

[Text] Hamburg, 19 Nov—A session of the North Atlantic Assembly—NATO's consultative body—has finished here. For 6 days about 200 parliamentarians from 16 NATO countries discussed questions of bloc strategy, problems of international security, arms reduction, and the state of and prospects for developing dialogue with the East.

The success of restructuring will be in the interests not only of the Soviet people and all the socialist states, but also the countries of the West, former Federal Chancellor H. Schmidt said in his speech to assembly participants. The Western allies, he observed, must make use of the favorable opportunities available to develop dialogue with the East and expand cooperation with socialist states in all spheres. At the same time H. Schmidt tried to question the feasibility of implementing the restructuring policy and the new USSR foreign political course associated with it. He used this consideration to justify the need to maintain NATO armed fores at a high level.

Such contradictoriness was typical of all the session's work and was reflected in its final resolution. On the one hand, the parliamentarians insistently urged NATO to draw up with all speed an overall NATO arms concept for disarmament and arms control and stressed the need for and significance of further steps to strengthen confidence-building measures. They also advocated talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact to compare their military doctrines.

At the same time, the documents express support for the "deterrence policy," which, as it notes, must continue to be based on a combination of nuclear and conventional arms. The resolution tries to artificially yoke military-political aspects of security policy with the solution of humanitarian and other questions.

'Roundtable' on France, Afghanistan, U.S., China

LD2811182788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 27 Nov 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, member of the Collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry and chief editor of the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN; Yuriy Nikolayevich Zhuravlev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry; and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, all-union radio commentator]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello comrades. Another important event has occurred in international affairs: Soviet-French summit level contacts have resumed after a pause lasting more than 3 years. The significance of this is obvious. It is determined by the very role played by the Soviet Union and France in each other's affairs and those of Europe and the whole world. Both countries are permanent members of the UN Security Council. A great deal depends on the attitudes of the Soviet Union and France to various problems, and a comparative analysis of the stances adopted by the two countries over the past few years shows that they are to a large extent similar. This important fact in international relations has also been reflected in the present summit meeting.

[Zhuravlev] The meeting was preceded by a lengthy pause: The last time the Soviet and French heads of state met was in October 1985. So what was different about the two meetings? The present dialogue is taking place against a backdrop of more favorable trends both in Europe and in the world. Intermediate-range missiles belonging both to the Soviet Union and the United States are being removed from Europe; the Vienna meeting of participant states in the all-European conference is moving toward a positive conclusion; approaches to solving such an important and major problem as reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe have also taken shape. The backdrop, then, is very favorable. It has to be acknowledged, however, that the 1985 meeting did not generate much of a positive change in Soviet-French relations. The present talks have shown that both the Soviet Union and France are striving to intensify political dialogue. But is this perhaps merely wishful thinking?

As the conversations in the Kremlin between Comrade Gorbachev and Mitterrand demonstrated, together with the list of participants in the talks—Mitterrand brought with him a large number of people, ministers, managers, financiers, and businessmen—France was serious about this meeting, prepared for it, and is ready to develop relations across a broad range of areas. The actual meetings with Comrade Gorbachev and Ryzhkov, the conversations between the foreign ministers, and the conversations in our ministries show that a solid basis is being set up for the development of Soviet-French relations, and that there are real foundations for progress.

At the very beginning you brought up the question of close or parallel actions by France and the Soviet Union in foreign policy, and there are indeed very positive trends occurring. There was also good cooperation between us during the preparations for the all-European conference. In 1985 the principles of the new thinking as applied to Europe were formulated. It is clear that the two sides have taken a step forward in solving key foreign policy problems, above all in their close views on matters pertaining to the reduction or elimination of conventional weapons. In this respect our standpoints really are in parallel. A lot has been said and is being said about the common European home. In this too, our standpoints are similar: Both sides favor cooperation and trust in Europe proceeding on a broad basis, the active development of economic relations between the European states, and a broad exchange in the humanitarian and cultural spheres.

[Pyadyshev] But nonetheless, Yuriy Nikolayevich, there are certain differences between France and the stance taken by us and other European, Eastern and Western European, states on the issue of conventional arms reduction. France here is demonstrating its own stance—an original one, one might say. The French leadership has stated that at the upcoming talks on conventional arms reduction France is neither willing nor intends to act as a member of the North Atlantic pact, as a member of a bloc. France is going to act at the future talks in its own individual capacity, so to speak, as an independent and autonomous entity. That's the first point. Secondly, the French leadership has stated that the conventional arms reduction talks should involve not only 23 states, the 7 Warsaw Pact states and the 16 NATO members, but all participants in the all-European process, all 35 states. That's the difference in the French standpoint. At the moment it's difficult to say just how that difference might affect the future, upcoming talks, but one cannot simply ignore it.

[Zhuravlev] This is perfectly natural, but the main thing is the dialogue, the dialogue and the desire of the sides to find a way out of the existing situation and to seek ways to solve the problem of armed forces reduction. This would be in line with the interests of each of the participants in these talks and would represent the kind of relations that ought to exist between civilized states and civilized people. No less important is the chemical weapons problem. France favors adopting an international convention to prohibit chemical weapons. France has advocated that a conference be held by the signatories of current documents on chemical weapons. We have supported this and are fully in favor of such a meeting.

France has an interesting standpoint on regional problems. Both we and France welcomed the Palestinian organization's decision to recognize the UN documents which should serve as a basis for a Near East settlement. Above all, this means convening an international conference on the Near East. Therefore, we have an opportunity to cooperate, to jointly promote the resolution of this problem. We also share an understanding with France regarding the Cambodia problem. Thus, on regional issues too, we can cooperate and act together with France to solve conflict situations. We cannot boast, however, of dynamism in the development of economic cooperation, economic contacts.

[Pyadyshev] Seen against the backdrop of Soviet-German cooperation, the Soviet-French sector looks, of course, backward. France is continuing to stick to all sorts of old bans and restrictions. But in some respects, we too, are falling short here. Figuratively speaking, we have set our boat adrift with the current and thrown away the oars instead of using those oars to galvanize economic cooperation. Both sides have something to gain. France has an interest in agriculture and light industry, and overall very many areas are fit for cooperation. What we need is action. The talks in Moscow have shown that such a desire exists. The first joint enterprise agreement was signed and questions pertaining to credits are being studied. In other words, a foundation is being put in place to ensure that economic cooperation is in line with the positive trends that have emerged in our common European home, including USSR-FRG relations and Soviet-Italian relations. So, we already have a positive balance here and I do not think economic relations between France and the Soviet Union will remain on the sidelines.

After all, yesterday's launch—the Soviet-French space flight, I mean—shows that there can be cooperation.

[Pyadyshev] Indeed, this is an indicator of the great potential for developing trade, political, cultural, technological, and other links between our two countries.

[Zhuravlev] The summit level contacts in Moscow, the talks between the foreign ministers, and the meetings between businessmen are laying the foundation for, and hold out the prospect of, fruitful results during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's upcoming meeting in France, which is to take place in 1989. The Moscow talks have been businesslike and intense. They have made a good start and I think that concrete results will appear next year.

[Pasko] Talking today about the state of affairs in the world, it is, of course, impossible, to leave out Afghanistan. The situation there remains very, very complex.

[Pyadyshev] For Soviet people the situation in Afghanistan is, I would say, the most important and most painful concern. We would like to adhere strictly to, and indeed are adhering to, the Geneva accords, according to which our soldiers, our troops, have to leave Afghanistan completely on 15 February of next year. But for the moment, the war and battles there are continuing. Has anything new or characteristic emerged over the past few days, over the past week? Well, it has to be said that the government forces have stepped up their military actions—the Kabul government troops. In a number of provinces they have delivered some appreciable blows against the rebel military forces. These have been achieved by the use of operational-tactical missiles and bombing raids on the areas in which the rebels are concentrated near the Pakistan border.

Some success has also been achieved in the areas controlled by the insurgent forces. For example, a couple of days ago in Paghman District—that's in Kabul Province—an agreement was signed by the insurgent forces and the authorities on ceasing military action. It is also interesting that lately there have been more and more occasions when regional and tribal military units have taken part in military action alongside government troops. In Herat Province, for example, subdivisions of Sa'id Ahmad's regiment, backed by government regulars, carried out highly successful operations to quell the

opposition forces. In the past week, successful government troop operations can be noted in Qandahar, Balkh, Jowzjan and other provinces. But even so, as was said right at the start, the situation in Afghanistan remains complex. This, however, should not in any way conceal our main objective and main future prospect: precise and rigorous compliance with the Geneva accords, under which we have assumed the obligation to withdraw our troops from Afghanistan by 15 February next year.

[Zhuravlev] However, one must also see the fact that the Government of Afghanistan and Najibullah, the president of Afghanistan, are exerting their efforts to pave the way toward national reconciliation. Yes, the irreconcilable opposition is indeed attempting to solve the problem by military means, but the Geneva accords are an indication that none of the sides can resolve Afghanistan's problem by military means. They cannot.

Indeed, they gave birth to the Geneva accords because each side needs to find and pave the way toward dialogue, and President Najibullah's government is trying to do everything to beat that path. The government troops really are capable of putting down the resistance by themselves, which is what is most important, and are doing so. However, it is most important now that those who signed the Geneva accords create conditions for peaceful unification.

[Pasko] In connection with this, the U.S. stance is very important. At the moment, in connection with the changeover of presidents in the United States, all of us are keenly following reports from Washington. After all, the policies of a new administration are being worked out in the United States. What will they be like, above all with regard to the East? This question is in essence a key to determining relations between the United States and its allies. It is no accident that East-West relations are the central topic of almost all the talks being held between Western leaders, including those recently held in Washington by FRG Chancellor Kohl and Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher. Bush, himself, both during the preelection struggle and now, following his election as President, states his intention to develop what has been achieved by the present administration. I would add, however, that he wants to spend the necessary time in the arms control sphere and other spheres of bilateral relations with the Soviet Union in developing his line and wants to look at these matters with a new eye.

[Pyadyshev] The majority of analysts share the view that the Bush administration will encounter fairly serious domestic, more precisely, economic matters. Although outwardly the United States appears powerful and strong, the basis to which this might is fixed is filled with a mass of serious dents and cracks, particularly when it comes to the state debt, the budget deficit, the deficit in the balance of trade, and so on. If then, one were to take those programs already endorsed in the United States, according to these, disregarding regular budget expenditures, the future administration will have to incur large outlays. For example, automatically in the next 5 years, without any new programs, merely on arms procurement the United States will have to spend as much as $350 billion.

Moreover, and this has come to light as a result of recent scandalous exposures, the Bush government will have to spend about $130 billion extra to neutralize radioactive pollution at plants manufacturing atomic weapons. Then, $70 billion per annum will have to be spent to cover the natural growth in expenditure on medical care for the elderly and $100 billion on redeeming the bankrupt social security fund. Generally, in addition to this already endorsed expenditure, over the next 5 years the United States will have to spend a minimum of $750 billion if not $1 trillion. This is, of course, a vast burden that will put pressure, serious pressure, even on as strong a state in economic terms as the United States. All this tasks the future U.S. Administration to find new revenue sources. One of the sources many U.S. specialists are pointing to is, of course, a cut in military spending, which has reached gigantic proportions in the United States.

[Pasko] Nonetheless, it is impossible not to see the pressure the militaristic forces are applying to Bush and his advisers as this policy is being worked out. After all, how is one to react to the Pentagon's demonstration this week of the new Stealth strategic bomber? It is supposedly capable of going unspotted by radar. In the United States, this demonstration, which gave rise to a wave of patriotism, is being presented as a triumph of scientific and technical thinking. However, this bomber is a strategic one, designed for action against the Soviet Union, and has been demonstrated when the United States and the Soviet Union are holding talks on reducing strategic offensive weapons. What is this if not a demonstration by certain forces of their attitude toward these talks and of how, in their view, the future administration should build its policy regarding the Soviet Union and the East?

[Pyadyshev] What you were saying, Vladimir Georgiyevich, about the B-2 bomber—you know, this is typical of the US military-industrial complex's propagandistic impact on public opinion, a demonstration of U.S. military might and capabilities.

This demonstration has indeed aroused some enthusiasm among Americans.

It's flattering to Americans to hear, as they are saying, that a weapon has been created in the United States the likes of which does not yet exist in the Soviet Union. But at the same time, little notes of doubt can also clearly be heard about whether such combat aircraft, which cost $500 million each, are needed. The U.S. Air Force is expecting to receive 132 such units. Right now it is too early to judge how the policies of the Bush administration in matters relating to limiting strategic arms and dialogue with the Soviet Union will be formulated in practical terms. Everything will depend on the internal

situation in the United States and the alignment of forces in the new administration's leading clique. But anyway, Bush, from what we know of him, is disposed to continue the constructive and productive Soviet-U.S. dialogue. The U.S. policy agenda of the new Republican administration is only just beginning to be elaborated. For the time being, we can note the important fact that Soviet-U.S. dialogue,—begun and consolidated in the course of four summit meetings between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan—this Soviet-U.S. dialogue, is now proceeding smoothly without a break, and is continuing fruitfully.

[Pasko] I would like to note that at a time when the policies of the new U.S. Administration are being drafted, Comrade Gorbachev's upcoming visit to the United States seems to be particularly important. He is to make a speech there at the UN General Assembly, but is also expected to meet with Reagan and Bush. It is quite clear that the positive things that have been done in recent years in Soviet-U.S. relations should be developed and not trampled underfoot. Talking today about the development of international affairs, one cannot ignore the continent of Asia. There are grounds, very substantial grounds, for this. An official visit to the Soviet Union by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen was announced this week. This is the first official visit to our country by a PRC foreign minister in almost 4 decades. The topic of a summit meeting will occupy a central place in the conversations. I think that Soviet-Chinese relations are going through a new stage of development.

[Zhuravlev] Yes, we are all witnesses to the way the Soviet Union and China are proceeding step-by-step toward the complete normalization of relations, a full-blooded political dialogue, and cooperation in all spheres. A Chinese foreign minister, after almost 40 years, is making an official visit to the Soviet Union. Comrade Shevardnadze made a statement in his interview with the newspaper IZVESTIYA. We know from statements by Chinese leaders the importance they are attaching to this visit, and what issues and what problems the foreign ministers are going to discuss. The foreign minister is to meet Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

The Chinese foreign minister's visit to the Soviet Union will lay the foundations for a possible summit meeting between Chinese and Soviet leaders. This topic is in the air. We hope this meeting is not far off. Both international problems and those relating to disarmament and strengthening security and cooperation in Asia will be discussed, of course. The Afghanistan problem will be touched on too, of course. The problem of Kampuchea, and the Kampuchean settlement will also be broached. It is difficult to say at this stage what the specific results will be. One can only talk about the range of problems that will be touched on in these talks. Taking into account previous contacts, one can say that they will move forward. Soviet-Chinese meetings in the economic sphere have taken place at the most diverse levels. A particularly interesting movement is border contacts. This involves not only trade, but also mutual exchanges and excursions. In other words, full-blooded cooperation between the Chinese and Soviet peoples on the border is beginning. Our people feel this. One can also sense on the Chinese side a desire for relations to be really cooperative, based on amicability, and relations of equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation.

[Pasko] Today we have touched on some of the most significant events in the past week. But, in my view, they reflect very accurately the processes occurring in international relations. The most important one among them is undoubtedly the trend toward intensifying political dialogue between states, a dialogue that is aimed at reducing military confrontation and developing cooperation. The new political thinking on which our foreign policy is based is yielding quite tangible results. Over the past 3 years we have not spoiled our relations with anyone. Our relations with the outside world are improving. One can assume that in the new year, in the not too distant future, this trend will continue and yield new concrete progress in disarmament, strengthening our security, and strengthening universal security.

With that, comrades, allow us to conclude our meeting. Thank you for taking part. All the best.

Belonogov Addresses UN on International Security

LD2311224688 Moscow TASS in English 2117 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 24 TASS—The 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly embarked November 23 on the discussion of one of the key items on the agenda—international security.

This essentially means the beginning of a reasonable process of shaping comprehensive security with taking into account a growing interdependence and multiformity of the world of today, said Aleksandr Belonogov, USSR permanent representative to the United Nations, who was the first to take the floor in the debate on this matter in the General Assembly's First Committee. He said it has been possible to start this process due to effective development of Soviet-American relations, constructive initiatives of the Non-Aligned Movement, of the Group of Six states representing five continents, due to willpower and maturity of most of the participants in the international communication. Of much importance were changes for the better in Europe, the main arena of confrontation of the military alliances, substantial progress reached of late in the settlement of conflict situations. New political thinking based on the priority of common human values and respect for the freedom of choice comes to the fore when the foreign policy of an ever greater number of states is determined. The notions of demilitarisation, humanisation and democratisation of international relations are filled with real content. In these conditions prospects open for the ensurance of universal and national security on the basis

of universal principle of peaceful coexistence, balance of interests, confidence and cooperation, and not on the basis of military confrontation. The United Nations organisation is called upon to play the cardinal role in this. Aleksandr Belonogov noted that at the current session of the General Assembly the USSR delegation circulated a memorandum "Toward comprehensive security through enhancing the United Nation's role" proposing in it three themes as possible trends for more specific discussion of the question of comprehensive security: enhancement of the efficiency of the United Nations and its main bodies, broader use of U.N. peacekeeping operations, the assertion of the primacy of international law in inter-state relations.

Pointing to a multicomponent nature of the very notion of security, the Soviet representative declared for the continuation and intensification of a broad international dialogue, above all in the United Nations, on the question of the comprehensive approach to the consolidation of international peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter. A dialogue on this question should be aimed at the quest of practical decisions based on consensus, above all for enhancing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations Organisation as an instrument of ensuring international peace and security.

Security Discussions Continue

LD2911052788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2313 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Excerpt] New York, 29 Nov (TASS)—The First Committee of the UN General Assembly is continuing its discussion of the question of an all-embracing approach to strengthening international peace and security in accordance with the UN Charter. The speeches by the representatives of the overwhelming majority of states were imbued with the striving to continue nonconfrontational dialogue on all aspects of problems of international security.

It is precisely at the continuation and development of such an international dialogue that the draft resolution "An all-embracing approach to strengthening international peace and security in accordance with the UN Charter" is aimed, A.M. Belonogov, permanent representative of the USSR at the United Nations, stated on Monday.

In formulating this draft its co-authors displayed the necessary moderation, flexibility, and readiness to take into account the opinion of other states. We do not have ready-made answers to all the problems of ensuring security in the modern world and we are not insisting that they be decided exclusively according to our "recipes." We see the essence of international dialogue precisely in tackling these problems together and, by comparing a broad spectrum of opinions, finding one common denominator which is acceptable to everyone. The dialogue in the First Committee is called on to reveal specific questions of security which really require a multilateral approach and on which the states can in the future start up detailed talks in the appropriate UN bodies.

The USSR representative stated that after additional consultations the co-authors, wishing to create as broad as possible base of support for the draft resolution, have decided to halfway meet the wishes of a number of nonaligned and Western countries and to introduce into it a number of amendments. He expressed the hope that the draft which is discussed in this way will receive broad support in the committee. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

'Arafat Visa Refusal Termed 'Illegal Action'

PM2911145188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch under the "Facts, Events, Opinions" rubric: "United States: State Department's Illegal Action"]

[Text] Washington—The U.S. authorities have once again violated the agreement with the United Nations regulating the conditions for the existence and activity of this international organization's New York headquarters. It has been announced that the State Department has refused a visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, who has been invited to address the UN General Assembly session.

The State Department did not decide on such an impudent act straightaway. First it employed delaying tactics. When the UN Secretariat requested a visa for 'Arafat, the U.S. foreign policy department replied that it would examine 'Arafat's application. But the request was refused with reference to the fact that the PLO allegedly "engages in terrorism" and 'Arafat personally poses a "danger to U.S. security."

As is well known, Yasir 'Arafat has already spoken in New York at a UN General Assembly session in 1974. What is the reason for this toughening of the U.S. stance toward the PLO at a time when this organization has adopted an important constructive decision in order to settle the Palestinian problem? In response to this question a State Department spokesman said that the United States has begun to take a "tougher line on terrorism." Yet he was simply unable to explain what danger the PLO leader poses to U.S. security.

Explanations by State Department officials indicate that the decision was made directly by Secretary of State G. Shultz, who has the authority to consider the most important visa questions. It has become known that Shultz acted contrary to the recommendations of the State Department's Near Eastern section and even those of C. Powell, the president's national security adviser. However, it was soon announced that President R. Reagan, who is on vacation in California, and President-elect G. Bush—he is in Maine—supported Shultz' decision.

J. Abourezk, a prominent U.S. politician and former senator, described the State Department decision as a shameful step. This step, he stated, has been taken at Israel's bidding and—it is clear from U.S. press reports—under pressure from the pro-Israeli lobby in the United States. It is the representatives of the latter who were the first to welcome the State Department's decision, describing it as a "courageous action" (!).

In a statement published in New York, UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar expressed regret at the actions of the U.S. authorities that are especially inappropriate at a time when the United Nations is preparing to discuss the Palestinian question.

The question of postponing the debate on the Palestinian problem to a later date, possibly in Geneva, where the United Nations' European headquarters are located, is being examined.

Early Bush Appointments, Stances Viewed

PM2911164988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin "Letter From Washington": "Administration Getting Ready for the Start"]

[Excerpts] Washington—In the White House press center journalists asking questions these days are seeking two answers: What are the positions of President Reagan and of President-elect Bush? They are much more interested in the second. Americans are not content with the present; their main concern is to look into the future.

Its contours have still not been outlined. Judging by Bush's numerous answers to press and television representatives, his course will not differ essentially from Reagan's policy. This was also stressed in his election platform. "Reliance on the legacy" and the "Reagan factor" brought Bush to the White House. However, the president-elect does not want to look like Reagan's "political twin" but intends to introduce fresh forces and pour new energy into his administration.

Now it is as though there are two political centers in Washington—the White House and the vice president's residence on Massachusetts Avenue. There are television cameras in both places. Bush stands in front of the television cameras more often now that the so-called transition period has started—between the election and the inauguration, that is until the new president takes office. It will last for 73 days. Indeed, the electoral college meeting which, under the constitution, has to elect the president and vice president is still to come (in December). But this is a formality whose outcome was predetermined by the 8 November election.

Bush's main aim at this stage is to form a cabinet, choosing its members, the apparatus chiefs, and the apparatus itself. [passage omitted]

The first appointments are already well known. The one mentioned most often is J. Baker. He was White House chief of staff and then secretary of the treasury in the Reagan administration. He retired from the latter post to head the Bush election campaign. Now Baker is getting the portfolio of U.S. secretary of state. Observers say that he is reserved, moderate in his judgments, and, above all, a pragmatist. Incidentally, virtually the same epithets are also applied to the Bush administration as a whole, with

the addition that it will consist of "whites of Anglo-Saxon origin with moderate conservative views." Graduates from the "university triumvirate"—Yale, Harvard, and Princeton—will join its "think tank." As is known, Bush is a graduate of Yale.

In the opinion of the papers here, such figures as Craig Fuller, the vice president's chief of staff, who was constantly by his side during the entire election campaign, and John Sununu, governor of New Hampshire, who made his contribution to Bush's victory in the primary election in that state, may join the Bush "team." The following are mentioned in the same context: Richard Darman, former deputy secretary of the treasury (who worked for a long time with J. Baker); retired General Brent Scowcroft; Paul O'Neill, chairman of the board of directors of the "Aluminum Company of America"; William Hyland, chief editor of the FOREIGN AFFAIRS journal; and Zbigniew Brzezinski. The latter is said to be destined for the post of U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations. J. Sununu has already been appointed: He has become White House chief of staff. The question of presidential adviser for national security affairs is being discussed, although it is believed that General Colin Powell may keep this post. It is also believed that Carlucci may remain as Pentagon chief.

But it is not only cadre problems which face the "transition team" and Bush himself. Much more important than the 73 days of the transition period are President Bush's first "100 days" in office and the start of the new administration, when it must declare itself at the top of its voice, as it were, and fix the main course of its government during this time, setting it out and supporting it with practical deeds.

So the Bush "team" is now formulating its specific political directives. The press is once again attacking the president-elect, and his encounters with it are illuminating problems which face the country and, consequently, the new administration. Above all domestic problems: questions of the budget deficit, the state debt, the shaky dollar, and foreign trade complications. All these topics were kept out of the Bush election campaign because they did not benefit him as a representative of the Reagan administration and gave an advantage to his Democratic rival. Judging by his recent statements, Bush's specific position on these questions has still not been clearly outlined. This is an unfavorable part of the Reagan legacy, and the new president has some difficult steps ahead of him. [passage omitted]

The topic of Soviet-U.S. relations and disarmament problems occupy a special place in Washington. In his recent statements the president-elect has advocated continuing the dialogue and the arms control process. At the same time it was stressed during the election period that talks with the USSR must be conducted "from a position of strength." Time will tell if this harsh election accent will be maintained.

There was a widespread response in Washington political circles to the report of M.S. Gorbachev's coming U.S. visit and UN address. The White House has stressed that, although the Soviet leader's planned meeting with Reagan and Bush will not be a summit meeting in the usual sense of the word, it will make it possible to discuss the major questions facing our countries and will once again demonstrate that constructive dialogue is continuing between the USSR and the United States.

PRAVDA on Deficit Problems Facing Bush

PM3011093988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[N. Kudryumov article under the rubric "International Notes": "'Dangerous Erosion'"]

[Text] Straight after November's presidential election the chronic ailments of the U.S. economy were once again the focus of attention in the Western business world. Despite the Washington administration's soothing assurances regarding its prosperous condition, alarm in capitalist countries' financial circles has clearly intensified in recent weeks. A manifestation of this is the latest outbreak of fever in the world financial markets that took the form of a sharp drop in share prices on the stock exchanges and a fall in the rate of the dollar against other currencies.

The reason for this concern is no mystery. The nervous state of the world's financial markets demonstrated the growing lack of confidence among business circles and reflected the misgivings that the U.S. budget and foreign trade deficits are virtually beyond the administration's control and also the doubts as to whether America is prepared to take any serious steps to curb these deficits.

The scale of the problem indicates that these misgivings are very well founded. The U.S. federal budget deficit for fiscal 1988 alone, which ended 30 September, totaled more than $155 billion and next year, according to specialists' calculations, will also exceed $150 billion. The overall result of this age-old economic course is also well known. As a result of expenditure in excess of income the national debt has reached truly astronomic dimensions—in the last 8 years of Republican rule it has almost trebled and is nearing $2.8 trillion. Every year the interest on the debt alone totals approximately $150 billion. The annual U.S. foreign trade deficit is also of this order.

The $300-billion burden of military expenditure has a particularly pernicious effect on the country's economy. One of the country's leading newspapers—THE NEW YORK TIMES—reached the following conclusion on this score: "At the cost of almost $2 trillion," the newspaper recently pointed out editorially, "President Reagan has by and large improved the quality of our armed forces. But he has built his castle on sand. The economy has been undermined by Reagan's deficits."

Given this situation, one should not be surprised that many U.S. economists and political observers compare the sinister burden of budget and trade deficits with a "time bomb" and with a "storm cloud looming on the horizon." But perhaps the loudest alarm signal and most authoritative warning regarding the future of the U.S. economy was heard last week in a speech given by Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve System's Board of Governors, who was addressing Congress and the next president, George Bush.

Describing the still vast budget deficit as a "dangerous erosion" of the economy, the leader of the country's central bank stated at hearings in the National Economic Commission (the President's consultative organ) that the deficit "has already begun to destroy our economic foundations" and if urgent steps are not taken in the very near future the problem of "imbalance" in the economy will deepen. In other words, Greenspan plainly said that there is no getting away from resolving the problem that George Bush effectively ignored during the presidential campaign, and that a clearly formulated and effective action plan on the economy is expected from the new president since the economy, burdened by a vast debt, is becoming increasingly susceptible to inflation and recession.

The immediate future will show what specific measures the new Republican president will recommend to cure this chronic ailment and what Congress' position on this will be, with both houses controlled by the Democrats. At present it is only known that he made no serious proposals during the election campaign. Rejecting the idea of raising taxes to balance the budget, George Bush, as is well known, claimed that the sought-after aim may be achieved by using the "flexible freezing" of budget expenditures. According to him, economic growth will automatically increase treasury receipts and will reduce the $150-billion deficit virtually to zero by 1993.

The skepticism with which the country received Bush's arguments can easily be understood since they lack the main element—how specifically to achieve the miracle he is propagandizing.

Many U.S. economists nowadays are inclined to believe that, since it is unrealistic to expect Bush and his team to put forward proposals for reducing the gigantic military appropriations that weigh heavy on the economy, there is only one way out—to start increasing taxes. Without this the resolution of the budget deficit problem is simply inconceivable. In their opinion, the new president's election promise not to raise taxes is not an insuperable obstacle. President Nixon's former economic adviser G. Stein, who is experienced in such matters, noted that such statements by Bush "are reminiscent of a boyish vow never to go to the dentist again—said with sincerity but of no great worth."

Let us not forecast which way the future administration will choose to solve the number one problem. One thing alone is clear now—this problem is banging on the door. The fall in the dollar exchange rate and the growing threat of an increase in bank lending rates and a considerable decline in business activity in the United States after the election, Senator J. Sasser said recently, clearly signal that it is necessary to take immediate action. The United States, he added, should demonstrate serious determination to restore order to its financial system. The time for rhetoric and empty phrases has passed.

China

Aid Delivered to PRC Earthquake Victims

LD2611094188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0816 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Beijing, 26 Nov (TASS)—A special Aeroflot transport aircraft delivered Friday to Beijing International Airport around 9 tonnes of cargo: medicines, tents, blankets, clothes, and other first aid articles for the people of Yunnan Province in southern China, who recently suffered a strong earthquake. Five tonnes of similar cargo from Moscow arrived in the Chinese capital earlier in keeping with the decisions of the executive committee of the USSR Union of Societies of the Red Cross and Red Crescent.

Representatives of the Yunnan branch of the Chinese Red Cross Society expressed profound gratitude to the USSR people and Government for the timely and valuable material assistance which, as they emphasized, provides graphic evidence of the feelings of sincere friendship that link the peoples of the two neighboring socialist states.

The USSR Council of Ministers, as already reported, sent a condolences telegram to Li Peng, prime minister of the PRC State Council, in connection with the serious natural calamity that had befallen the people of Yunnan Province.

According to official data, as a result of the earthquake, 730 people died and more than 4,000 were injured. More than 400,000 dwellings, schools, and hospitals were completely destroyed. Direct economic damage amounted to more than R1.4 billion.

Impact of New Thinking on Geopolitics Assessed

OW2511121688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Here is a short commentary by Mulatov, entitled: Impetus Behind the New Thinking.

The author makes reference to the Soviet-Indian Summit Statement published at the end of Gorbachev's India visit a few days ago. The author also notes the impact of

new thinking on improving international relations as well as the significance of the beginning of dialogues between the Soviet Union and China.

[Mulatov] Nearly 2 years have gone by since the Delhi Declaration, a document of historical significance on the establishment of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, was adopted by the Soviet Union and India. During that time, the Delhi Declaration has become one of the most important documents of the new political thinking.

The Soviet-Indian summit statement points out: The New Delhi Declaration has had a positive impact on the entire political system of the world and promoted improvement in international relations. Of course, the new thinking is not the monopoly or privilege of the Soviet Union, India, or any other country. It is a lively process of creative thinking. Any nation, big or small, or any social system can bring fresh vitality to the new thinking: This is indeed true, because the new thinking is aimed at promoting nonmilitarism, democratization, and humanism in international relations. Not only is this new thinking a principle of Soviet and Indian foreign policies, but it is also a characteristic of China's foreign policy. This is not flattery. We cannot help seeing that your country has displayed increasingly greater enthusiasm in international affairs. China's foreign policy is aimed at safeguarding world peace and creating a favorable international political environment in which to realize China's fundamental economic reform and socialist modernization.

If we look at the possibility of cooperation in Sino-Soviet relations, it can readily be seen that all basic principles governing our two countries' foreign and domestic policies are either identical or near identical. Differences in certain regional issues by no means obscure the fundamental policy grounds our two countries share. As everyone clearly realizes, arms reduction—particularly nuclear arms reduction—is a primary issue that touches the interests of all nations and all people today.

Of the five nuclear powers, only the Soviet Union and China have shouldered the obligation never to be the first to use nuclear weapons under any condition. This should become a universal principle, and an international treaty should immediately be signed to ban using and threatening to use nuclear weapons. The Soviet-Indian summit statement already states this. Many countries agree with this constructive proposition. China is also interested in this proposition.

What is most heartening is that Soviet-Chinese dialogue has become an increasingly important factor in international affairs. People clearly realize that this dialogue is important not only for our two neighboring countries, but also to a very great extent, for reinforcing the positive factors in the Asia-Pacific region—and the whole world as well.

An important event will soon take place in Soviet-Chinese relations. It involves not only mutual visits by the foreign ministers of our two countries, but also a possible Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in the near future.

The new thinking has brought new prospects and visions to the cooperation among various nations. I believe that our two socialist powers share a common concern for bringing new vitality to the process of new thinking.

Moscow Meeting Commemorates Liu Shaoqi

PM2911183788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Memory of Liu Shaoqi"]

[Text] A meeting of the public held in Moscow on 25 November was dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the birth of PRC Chairman Liu Shaoqi. It was given by the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute.

The speakers noted that our country is well familiar with the name of this eminent PRC statesman and party figure who visited the Soviet Union more than once and spoke out in favor of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Liu Shaoqi devoted his entire life to struggling for the cause of the working class and its party and for the national and social liberation of the Chinese people. Rehabilitated after undeserved repressions, this eminent figure in the international communist and workers movement will rank forever as a fighter for the triumph of the people's democratic and socialist revolution in China.

The meeting was attended by Li Fenglin, PRC charge d'affaires ad interim in the Soviet Union.

Northeast Asia

Nikonov Receives DPRK Party Delegation

PM2911160388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation from the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] headed by So Kwan-hui, secretary of the WPK Central Committee, visited the Soviet Union 21-27 November in accordance with the plan for interparty ties.

The WPK representatives acquainted themselves with the CPSU's activity in implementing its agrarian policy. They had conversations at the CPSU Central Committee, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and local party organizations and visited a number of production enterprises and scientific research establishments belonging to the agro-industrial complex in Moscow, the Ukraine, and Moscow Oblast.

The WPK delegation was received by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. There was an exchange of opinions on the solution of tasks in the population's food supply and the fraternal parties' implementation of an effective agrarian policy in the interests of socialist building. There was a comprehensive discussion of questions of the further deepening of mutually beneficial cooperation in agricultural production and in particular the fuller utilization for these purposes of ties between the USSR's Far Eastern oblasts and the relevant regions of the DPRK.

Japan Partially Lifts Technology Export Ban

OW2311150788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1140 GMT 22 Nov 88

[From "The World Today" program; presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] What follows is one more example of the positive changes that are taking place in the world today. We have often spoken about the unsavory role of Cocom—a committee which controls the exchange of technology and the delivery of goods to socialist countries. Its policies of prevention and inhibition remain, as before, a serious obstacle to the development of normal relations between the states.

No doubt you remember the hue and cry raised in the West when several lathes were sold to the Soviet Union by the Japanese Toshiba Company. We have spoken about this incident in some detail already. At that time harsh sanctions were applied against the firm, and the scandal was severely detrimental to Japanese business. Now it is specifically from Japan that news has been received that official Tokyo has decided to soften the limitations currently in force in the country. The ban has been lifted from 32 different types of goods hitherto banned from export to the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Japanese companies will now be able to sell these goods without additional permission or agreements.

What are we talking about here? The list now includes several types of computers, transistors, integrated circuits, and video recording equipment. It is thought that this might only be the beginning, and that the question of 17 more categories of various types of goods will be discussed in the near future.

I do not think that this step has been taken accidentally. First, the general thaw in the world has had its effect. Also, one should remember that Japanese business, the orientation of which is based on exports, suffered a serious loss of income with the exclusion of such a large market as the one that the socialist countries can provide. Local business circles have expressed great concern over the obstacles placed on the path toward trade and economic ties and have been applying constant pressure on the government. The lifting of these sanctions seems to be the result of this pressure.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Australian Premier Defends U.S. Bases

PM2911185188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Aleksey Ivkin article under rubric "Correspondent's Commentary": "For Another 10 Years"]

[Text] Sydney, 25 Nov—An exceptional event has taken place in Australian political life, which is gradually winding down for Christmas. The country's prime minister, R. Hawke, has given a speech in parliament specially devoted to the subject of U.S. military bases and installations.

They have been in Australian territory for many years now and prompted protests from a considerable—if not overwhelming—section of the population. However, Canberra has never called these bases American. In official vocabulary, they have gone and still do go under the title "installations for joint use." What is more, officials have always been very chary with their words on the subject of the purpose of these installations and their statements never differ. That is why many journalists here regard the prime minister's speech as something of a revelation.

However, it is hard to describe the head of cabinet's admission—that the largest bases at Pine Gap and Narrangar [name as transliterated] are used to gather espionage information—as a revelation. But we should be thankful for that much, at least. This subject is really painful for Australians: The debates surrounding the bases never die down, because the presence of foreign installations is connected with the question of the country's sovereignty.

R. Hawke himself does not often speak out on the subject of bases in Australia. I can remember how in June this year at the Labor Party conference, a proposal from a delegate from Victoria that a resolution be made to include a demand to remove bases from the continent sparked an angry reaction from the prime minister. Then his main argument in defense of the bases was their incredible importance for monitoring observance of agreements on the verification of nuclear disarmament. He did not fail to use this argument in his parliamentary speech. He also added that the bases are becoming increasingly "Australian": Australian citizens are being appointed as deputy chiefs and the number of Australian employees has now reached 30 percent of base personnel. What is more, the prime minister said, Australia is gaining increasing access to the information gathered by the bases.

But why did the prime minister have to renew his statements in support of keeping the U.S. bases in Australia? Because the government has always intended to extend its agreement with the United States on the siting of these military installations for a further 10 years. And the opposition has readily welcomed the statement on this score.

The Australian newspapers are predicting that protests from the antiwar movement against these so-called joint installations will not diminish. And it is a futile task in general, THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD believes, to try to persuade the Australian people that Canberra is committed to universal disarmament while at the same time it defends the existence of foreign bases.

Statement on Lao, Thai Premiers' Talks Cited

PM2911184788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Joint Statement"]

[Text] Vientiane, 28 Nov—A Lao-Thai joint statement has been published here on the results of the talks in Vientiane between between Kaysone Phomvihan, chairman of the Lao Council of Ministers, and Chatchai Chunhawan, prime minister of Thailand, who is paying an official visit to Laos.

The Thai Government delegation's official visit to Laos, the document says, marked a new and important development in relations between the two countries.

The sides have agreed on the construction of a bridge across the Mekong and on collaboration in developing a utilities network and power industry and agricultural facilities in Laos.

The statement notes that cooperation committees and societies for Lao-Thai and Thai-Lao friendship will be set up under the two countries' governments. After discussing the Lao refugee problem, the sides announced a decision to create a joint Lao-Thai border commission whose activity will help to transform the border between the two states into one of peace, friendship, and good neighborliness.

Cam Ranh Change Prompts Philippines-SRV Contact

PM2911165788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent I. Kovalev dispatch: "Useful Dialogue"]

[Text] Manila—"It has long been time to reappraise Philippine-Vietnamese relations," the MANILA JOURNAL writes regarding Philippine Foreign Minister R. Manglaupus' current visit to Vietnam. This reappraisal, in the newspaper's opinion, should lie in "removing Vietnam from the ranks of prohibited Communist countries" (according to former Philippine concepts) and in organizing multifaceted relations with Vietnam as one of the major countries in the region. The Philippines—a member of ASEAN and a military-political ally of the United States— has its own political considerations. People here reckon that the emergent prospect of a settlement of the Cambodian problem has stimulated the elaboration of a new approach to relations with Vietnam. A further element is the fact that last Monday all the central newspapers published a report to the effect that Vietnam is examining the question of internationalizing the naval port of Cam Ranh, the home of a Soviet Navy material and technical supply point.

It is supposed that this port will also be used by other countries' vessels. All this adds to the efforts to reduce the level of tension and ensure security in the region—something that is impossible without Vietnam's participation. As a member of ASEAN, the Philippines supports the proposal to create a peace zone and a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia. In the opinion of commentators here, R. Manglaupus' conversations in Hanoi can only benefit this. The questions discussed at the talks include trade and economic relations.

USSR-PRK Cooperation Commission Meets

PM2911145988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The fifth session of the Soviet-Cambodian Intergovernmental Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation took place 20-22 November in Phnom Penh.

V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, led the Soviet delegation, and Chea Soth, deputy chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, led the Cambodian delegation.

The head of the Soviet delegation was received by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee, and Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers.

On the same day a festive ceremony took place to open the ground station of the "Intersputnik" space communications system built with the Soviet Union's technical assistance. The station, which was named "Bayon," will provide a reliable telephone, telegraph, and television link between Phnom Penh and many countries.

Near East & South Asia

Bessmertnykh Receives Iranian Ambassador

LD3011120088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1135 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (TASS)—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, today received N. Heyrani-Nobari, Iranian ambassador to the

Soviet Union. The diplomats discussed a number of aspects of Soviet-Iranian relations and broached questions concerned with the situation in the region, particularly those connected with the situation in Afghanistan and with the Iran-Iraq talks underway in Geneva.

Human Rights Situation in Iran Assessed

NC0611170488 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The UN human rights committee submitted to the UN General Assembly a report which expressed serious concern over the grave situation in human rights in Iran. The report's compilers point out that during July, August, and September this year a large number of political prisoners and members of opposition organizations were executed in Iran. Among these were members of the Tudeh Party of Iran, the Fedayeen-e Khalq (Majority) Organization, and the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization. According to testimony from Iranian opposition forces, the total number of those executed during this period was (?1,140). During these 3 months, (?10,000) people were arrested.

What is the reason behind intensifying suppression in Iran just before and after the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq fronts? The situation itself demands that a different policy be adopted. The situation demands that the policy of moral and physical assassination be ended and that all society's forces be mobilized for postwar reconstruction.

However, the truth is that those who favor monopolizing rule sacrifice the interests of the people for the sake of their own greedy interests. They consider freedom and democracy to be a threat to their collective interests. The cease-fire in the war with Iraq has given rise to new concerns among the enemies of democracy in Iran. One statement issued by the Tudeh Party of Iran points out that the objective behind the Iranian leadership's suppression is to divert the attention of the masses who have been sacrificed for the policy of exporting the Islamic revolution and who demand the punishment of those ruling officials who are to blame for the deaths of thousands of (?youths), the great destruction in Iran, and the irreparable damage inflicted on the country's economy. Meanwhile, the regime that started on the path of retreat before imperialism and the U.S. Administration is striving, by sacrificing members of the Tudeh Party and the Fedaiyin Organization, to gain the trust and support of imperialism.

Iran's leaders, who have aimed their suppression at the members of the Tudeh Party, the fedaiyin, and the mojahedin state that they are struggling against spies and terrorists. What they mean, first and foremost, is the armed operations by the mojahedin [words indistinct] within the country and the operations of the National Liberation Army in [word indistinct]. But the reason for current events is rooted in the past and stems from the attempt by Iranians to react against the goals and ideals of the popular and anti-monarchical revolution and (?against) democratic rights and freedom.

Recently the Iranian leadership has been expressing readiness to pardon some of the political prisoners. This has been widely commented upon in the world's mass media. The opinion stated is that this pardon will be a gesture of reconciliation by the Iranian leadership toward Western leaders, who will be fully satisfied if a specific number of Baha'i's and pro-Bazargan people are released from prison. Another opinion expressed is that by this step the Iranian leadership will create a schism in the movement for Kurdish autonomy. Yet another opinion is that pardoning prisoners will be Tehran's reaction to the protest by the world's public about the official line of terror and suppression against heterodox forces in Iran.

The Iranian leaders, who have crushed the most active of the strugglers for democracy, consider it possible to react to such [word indistinct] now. In our opinion the various (?reasons propounded) for pardoning the prisoners are contingent upon one another. However, if this is going to be merely a tactical move, then the country should expect social and [word indistinct] (?tremors). Maneuvering in order to avoid the revival of democratic and political prisoners cannot fool world public opinion.

USSR, Afghan Rebel Envoys Discuss POW's

PM2911203388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Meeting in Islamabad"]

[Excerpt] Islamabad—As the DPA news agency reports, last Sunday Afghan rebel representatives held talks with Soviet representatives at the Pakistani Foreign Ministry on the exchange of prisoners.

As the IZVESTIYA editorial board was informed at the USSR Foreign Ministry, a meeting was held in Islamabad last Sunday between USSR embassy officials and representatives of the Afghan opposition at which the topic of the release of Soviet servicemen captured in Afghanistan was discussed. The meeting was organized with the assistance of the Pakistani authorities, but without their participation. The sides agreed to contine the contacts.

Najibullah Addresses Reconciliation Gathering

LD2611210688 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 26 TASS—An extended session of the Supreme Emergency Council for National Reconciliation in Afghanistan was held here today. It was pointed out at the session that 3,800 local reconciliation bodies had been set up in the country in the past 22 months. It is mostly thanks to their efforts that some

175,000 Afghan refugees returned home, 40,000 members of opposition groups gave up armed struggle, 16,000 people were released from prison. All this along with the adoption of the Constitution, the election of president and the National Council (parliament), is an impressive accomplishment of the national reconciliation policy.

The session was addressed by President Najibullah of Afghanistan. He said, among other things, that major developments had taken place since the proclamation of the national reconciliaton policy. The most important of them was the signing of the Geneva Accords which created a foundation not only for the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, but also for the solution of its domestic problems. [Moscow PRAVDA on 28 November in similar report adds: "Geneva envisaged an end to all outside interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, the non-supply of weapons to the opposition and non-dispatch of terrorists, the liquidation of the extremists' military camps, the cessation of anti-Afghan propaganda, the voluntary return home of Afghan refugees, and the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops."]

The experience of the past several months showed that signatories to the accords approached their fulfilment in different ways. Thus, the USSR and Afghanistan fully meet their commitments, while the U.S. and Pakistan are obviously disregarding them. Apart from it, the irreconcilable opposition, far from putting forward any plan of the restoration of peace and the termination of the war, is going out of its way for preventing the lessening of tension. Various methods are used for this purpose, ranging from missile shelling to economic sabotage. 750 peaceful civilians were killed by missile shelling in Kabul Province alone from May 15 to November 5. 550 apartment houses were destroyed.

The president recalled the latest initiatives of the Afghan leadership aimed at speeding up the national reconciliation process and settling outside aspects of the Afghan problem. We propose the convocation of an international conference which would discuss the following issues: the granting to Afghanistan of guarantees of its neutral status, the working out of a program of international assistance to Afghanistan and a mechanism of its realization, the granting of international guarantees of human rights in Afghanistan, including political freedoms, the analysis of a possibility of the demilitarization of the country, the collecting of weapons and their return to arms manufacturing countries for the purpose of preventing a fratricidal war in the future, the Afghan leader said.

Speaking about the latest initiatives, Najibullah mentioned a proposal on the formation of a coalition government on a broad neutral basis. [The PRAVDA version of the preceding sentence reads: "Speaking about the latest initiatives, Najibullah mentioned a proposal on the formation of a coalition government on a broad neutral basis which would satisfy all sides, announce a cease-fire, and supervise its observance."]

The president denounced the stand of extremist-minded opposition leaders who reject a possibility of the participation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in the coalition government.

Participants in the session of the supreme emergency council for national reconcilation came up with a message to the Afghan people. It pointed out that the Afghan people had no alternative to national reconciliation.

In a message to the U.N. secretary general participants in the session expressed high appreciation of his work aimed at putting an end to the war in Afghanistan. It denounced the U.S. and Pakistan which do not fulfil the Geneva accords and expand their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

TASS Notes Najibullah Letter to King Husayn

LD2311162288 Moscow TASS in English 1549 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 23 TASS—President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan has called on King Husayn of Jordan to promote the holding of talks in Mecca between the Afghan Government and its opponents.

A message which Najibullah sent to the king of Jordan points out that friendly relations between the two Muslim peoples continuously develop. The two countries hold close positions within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement on matters concerning the ensurance of universal peace and security and a settlement of regional conflicts politically.

The Afghan president mentioned the Afghan leadership's proposal—which was voiced at the international conference which was held in Kabul in October this year on the subject "Muslims in the work for the establishment of universal peace and security and for the survival of humanity"—about holding talks in Saudi Arabia between the Afghan Government and the other party to the conflict with a view to stopping bloodshed in Afghanistan.

"Considering Jordan's previous efforts, specifically the promotion of the success of the Geneva talks, we are requesting you to contact the leadership of Saudi Arabia for organizing peace talks in Mecca as well as to invite representatives of the Afghan opposition to take part in them," the message says. "Such humane step by Jordan will contribute to further developing and strengthening bilateral relations".

Najibullah emphasized that the Republic of Afghanistan had invariably been coming out in support of the just struggle of Arab people of Palestine for the time-honoured rights, and the Arabs' movement for Israel's withdrawal from the captured territories.

"By officially recognizing the independent Palestinian state, Afghanistan regards its proclamation as an important triumph of the Palestinians and of the entire Muslim world", the Afghan President's message points out.

The text of the message was circulated by the BAKHTAR News Agency today.

Afghanistan's Wakil on UN Peace Efforts

PM2911160588 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 48, 25 Nov-1 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 24 Nov 88) p 8

[Interview with Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil, given especially for ZA RUBEZHOM to TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy in Kabul: "'Abdul Wakil: The Geneva Agreements Should Be Observed Not in Words But in Deeds"—date not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] More than 7 months have passed since the day when the Geneva agreements, which laid the foundations for a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, were signed. But through the fault of reactionary forces, including those in Pakistan, the undeclared war against Afghanistan continues to claim human lives. Nor does it spare our colleagues, Soviet and foreign journalists, who come under attack by armed terrorists. TASS correspondent in Kabul Yuriy Tyssovskiy, author of the following interview with Afghanistan's foreign minister, was himself wounded when a group of journalists came under fire from Pakistani territory. This fact alone testifies to the correctness of the assessments contained in the interview.

Question. Esteemed Foreign Minister, what could you say about Pakistan's stance as regards the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements?

Answer. From the very moment the Geneva agreements came into force, the Pakistani authorities have been crudely and blatantly violating all provisions of the accords, especially of the first document—the bilateral agreement on the principles of mutual relations between our countries. Specifically, the provision about noninterference in one another's internal affairs and the renunciation of intervention. The only thing Pakistan has proved to the world community in the recent past is its nonacceptance of international commitments and its hostility to the Geneva agreements.

Under the provisions of Article 2 of the first document, Pakistan ought to refrain from any interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Unfortunately, since the Geneva agreements have come into force, Islamabad has been and still is committing direct interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs by supplying weapons to the opposition and sending armed and trained terrorists into our country.

Question. It is well known that Pakistan, Iran, and a section of the implacable Afghan opposition are taking every opportunity to hinder the return of Afghan refugees. Could you describe the situation in which the refugees now find themselves? What steps have been and are being taken in this regard by Republic of Afghanistan diplomatic missions, and what are the successes and difficulties in this work?

Answer. As the world community knows, Afghanistan and Pakistan are bound—according to the provisions of the third document of the Geneva agreements "On the Voluntary Repatriation of Refugees"—by the pledge to assist by all means the unhindered and safe return home of Afghan refugees. We have taken the necessary measures along this avenue and are prepared to resettle the refugees. Two new ministries were established for this purpose within the framework of the government cabinet, and they are dealing with questions of ensuring conditions for the settlement of repatriated persons.

But the present conditions are such that Pakistan, in violation of Article 3 of the aforementioned third document, not only failed to take any constructive steps but, immediately after the Geneva agreements came into force, used the extremist opposition groups on its territory to blockade all refugee camps, assisted direct infiltration into Afghanistan by soldiers from border guard formations, the so-called Malisha, and also conducted other hostile actions and propaganda campaigns. Evidence of this can be seen especially in Islamabad's declarations about the "impossibility of repatriating refugees because of the lack of proper security and the abundance of mines along the return routes," or about the "real prospects for an early overthrow of the Afghanistan Government." By acting in this fashion, the Pakistani authorities are striving to encourage refugees to remain on their territory so that, together with the leaders of Afghan opposition groupings, they can use them as a reserve force and a source of recruits to the ranks of armed gang formations.

Meanwhile our compatriots among the refugees, despite the privations and the obstacles raised by Pakistan to block their way, are returning home under cover of darkness, overcoming barbed wire obstacles, and despite all kinds of threats. Around 170,000 refugees have already returned from various countries, including Pakistan and Iran, since the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan.

The Afghan leadership has repeatedly declared its readiness to set up mixed commissions for refugee affairs as envisaged by the Geneva agreements, but hitherto the Pakistani leadership has failed to take any measures along this avenue. We believe that, in the event of these

commissions' being created with assistance from the UN Office of High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] and other international organizations, significant opportunities will be provided for our compatriots' return home.

The repatriation of refugees from Iran is also encountering difficulties. Even though Tehran is not a party to the Geneva agreements, we hope that that country's government will realize its humanitarian responsibility and, being our neighbor, not only will not hinder the return of Afghan refugees but will actually respond to our call for cooperation in the creation of appropriate conditions for the solution of this question. Through its diplomatic missions abroad, the Republic of Afghanistan has established extensive contacts with the UNHCR and other specialized institutions, especially with representatives of the World Food Program, the FAO, UNICEF, and UNESCO. Great credit is due to the efforts of the UN secretary general, of Shah Zade Sadraddin Agha Khan, coordinator of the UN programs for economic and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan, and of the UN high commissioner for refugees. We expressed gratification with the results of the conference held in New York 12 October on contributions to the UN programs for Afghanistan, as well as thanks to its participants.

We believe that the problems existing in today's conditions in Afghanistan are the result of Pakistan's avoidance of cooperation, the contradictory situation in that country, Iran's unwillingness to assist the settlement, and the continuing interference by Washington and Islamabad in our country's internal affairs. These states realize that, in the event of peace being established, this being the objective of the efforts by the Republic of Afghanistan, they will be deprived of an excuse to continue preventing the refugees from returning home.

Question. The armed opposition continues to receive large shipments of weapons through Pakistan's territory. How do you assess the role played by the UN Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan [UNGOMAP] in preventing infiltration by convoys of deadly weapons into Afghanistan in violation of the Geneva agreements?

Answer. Apart from anything else, violations of the provisions of the Geneva agreements and primarily of the first document take the form of deliveries of modern weapons, whose volume is growing day by day, as well as of sending over growing numbers of armed gang groups and military advisers.

As regards infiltration by weapons caravans from Pakistani territory—which is a gross and blatant violation of the Geneva agreements—the Republic of Afghanistan, acting in accordance with the envisaged special monitoring mechanism, sends on to the UNGOMAP missions all necessary material on instances of such violations accompanied by appropriate explanations in note form. The results of UNGOMAP's activity in investigating instances of violations so far cannot be described as efficient or satisfactory. The main factor determining this assessment is still the stance taken by the Pakistani side, which uses various pretexts to create artificial obstacles to the pursuit of essential investigations. For example the Pakistani Government, having failed to supply the relevant information on the latest violation, prevented the holding of a prompt and necessary investigation. The result of this was that, despite repeated violations, the inspection by UNGOMAP groups has not produced the desired results and Pakistan continues to violate the provisions of the Geneva agreements.

It must be noted that some violations—like the existence of the headquarters of extremist grouping leaders on Pakistani territory, the proclamation of a so-called "provisional government" on Pakistani territory, the malicious and incessant propaganda campaign, and the irresponsible statements by high-ranking representatives of the Pakistani leadership about the Republic of Afghanistan—are so unambiguous and obvious that there is no need to either send notes or conduct investigations. At the same time, the UNGOMAP mission keeps silent about this and has not managed to prepare a report on the aforementioned violations, as envisaged by the appropriate provisions of the Geneva agreements. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has constantly expressed its concern over this during repeated meetings with senior UN staffers.

I would like to say a few words about the resolution on Afghanistan adopted by the UN General Assembly. Its content is a product of the new atmosphere created in our country as a result of the policy of national reconciliation and the Geneva agreements. The resolution enshrines the world community's unanimous opinion that a real foundation for a peaceful political settlement around Afghanistan can be provided only by recognition of the need to maintain the independence, territorial integrity, national sovereignty, and neutral status of the Afghan state. The resolution also reflected aspects like the unconditional need for inter-Afghan dialogue on the question of creating a broad-based coalition government, ending foreign interference, respecting our people's right to choose their political system, and supporting the UN efforts aimed at implementation of the Geneva agreements. The Republic of Afghanistan welcomes the UN adoption of this resolution, perceiving it as a new and important step toward settlement. The fact that it was adopted on the basis of consensus and that numerous UN members rather than only Pakistan and some other countries, as in the past, took part in drafting the document is also highly important. One could note with gratification the mutual understanding among all the states, including Afghanistan, during the drafting and adoption of the resolution. I hope that the UN resolution, in parallel with the Geneva agreements, will be reflected in real steps toward settlement rather than remaining only on paper. But this requires that the

aforementioned documents are observed not only by the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union but also by the other side, in other words the United States and Pakistan.

Conflict Among Afghan Opposition Factions Noted
WA18010128 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik under rubric "Report From Afghanistan": "Contradictions Grow"]

[Text] Despite numerous declarations about complete mutual understanding and close cooperation in the struggle "for the sacred cause of Islam," contradictions among antigovernment Afghan opposition parties and organizations grow with each passing day. For example, DPA reported that former Prime Minister of Afghanistan Mohammad Yusuf, who lives in the FRG, recently came out with a proposal "to hold a conference on ways to settle the Afghan crisis with the involvement of representatives of the resistance movement as well as of influential Afghan state figures from past regimes." But the "Alliance of Seven" rejected this proposal, declaring that any initiatives for establishing peace in Afghanistan advanced without the consent of the Peshawar "Seven" are unacceptable.

It is not the first time such declarations of the "Alliance of Seven" have been heard from Peshawar. They attest only to a stubborn lack of desire of its leaders, who claim to have a principal role in deciding Afghanistan's further destiny, to heed the opinion even of such prominent political figures of the Afghan opposition as Mohammad Yusuf. Lately there has been a further increase in ferocity of the internecine war in the opposition camp; it is assuming the character of direct armed clashes. For example, according to Afghan press reports, genuine battles are under way in Afghanistan's northern provinces between armed Shi'ite groups on the one hand and armed Sunnite groups on the other. Matters went so far that leaders of these groupings in Iran and Pakistan sent their emissaries to Afghanistan to impose order in their detachments. Clashes that are no less acute occur in dividing up property stolen from the population and on the soil of internal differences among armed groupings of the "Alliance of Seven." Such armed clashes have occurred in the Provinces of Konduz, Samangan, and Herat in just the last few days.

The wave of terror and robberies in the areas of Afghan refugee camps is setting Afghans residing on the territory of Pakistan as well as the local population against the Afghan armed opposition more and more. Afghan refugees from the "Alizai" camp located in the environs of the city of Kohat did not allow IPA leader G. Hikmatyar to come and speak to them. Only the intervention of Pakistani police prevented violence against one of the leaders of the "irreconcilables." Many Pushtun tribes in Pakistan actively favor a cessation of military assistance to the opposition's armed detachments.

Leaders of the Peshawar opposition are feverishly strengthening their ranks which are being torn by internal contradictions. Attempts to eliminate these contradictions are also being made by numerous detachments of foreign military advisers and emissaries. As the Afghan Army General Staff reported, in late September alone several commissions of the "Alliance of Seven" which include advisers from the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia were sent from Pakistan to different parts of Afghanistan to resolve conflicts among various Muslim parties and groupings. Such commissions now are "operating" under reinforced rebel security in the provinces of Qandahar, Herat, and Parvan.

Despite this, many of the opposition's armed detachments continue to clarify their relationships in fierce clashes. The foreign "guests" who have arrived to pacify the "fighters for the faith" often also become victims in the process. For example, on 28 September of this year an Arab adviser who had arrived in this area the evening before to coordinate combat operations between the IPA and IOA died as a result of an exchange of fire between quarreling rebels groups in the vicinity of the kishlak of Kohe-Hashki in Logar Province.

Fierce clashes continue these days in the most varied parts of Afghanistan among detachments of rebels belonging to different Muslim opposition parties.

U.S.-Israeli 'Strategic Alliance' Denounced
TA0611074188 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] During his visit to Jerusalem, U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci promised his interlocutors that strategic cooperation with Israel would not be affected and would continue to expand during the new government's term in office, whatever that government may be. Observers in the Middle East regard this pledge as giving Likud leaders the green light to set up a war government which would conduct a policy of ruthless oppression in the occupied territories.

Secretary Carlucci's talks in Jerusalem prove that the U.S. Administration is pleased with the results of the Knesset elections. The establishment of a war government by the Likud and the religious parties would enable Washington to increase its interference in developments in the Middle East and, at the same time, would increase the isolation of the Jewish state in the international arena, thus making Israel even more dependent on the United States.

Is this in any way compatible with the interests of the Israeli people? To what extent can the national objective be promoted by strengthening strategic relations with the United States? First of all, let us make clear what Israel's real interest is. Can strategic cooperation with Washington guarantee security and peace in the region to the Jewish state? We definitely believe that what the Israeli people need more than anything else is peace and secure borders with effective international guarantees. This is its real and basic interest, all the rest is marginal in comparison.

Occasionally it is even dangerous. Here is just one example: the nuclear pretensions of the ruling circles in Jerusalem. Many observers believe that Israel has nuclear weapons, or at least the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons within a short time. It is no secret that Likud leaders such as Menahem Begin, Moshe Arens, Ari'el Sharon, and as of late also Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, have on more than one occasion threatened the Arabs with nonconventional strikes, and most likely, these were no mere threats. The advocates of the concept of a greater Israel have more than once proven that they are prepared to take any risks in order to attain their goals. What would happen then? What would be the fate of the Middle East and the entire world? After all, the eruption of a nonconventional war in the region could lead to a comprehensive international deterioration conducive to an all-out war.

Sensible Israelis can no longer ignore all this. Indeed, they have been warning and cautioning the public and demanding that the nuclear option included in the official security policy be abandoned. Or, as stated in the report of the national committee for the prevention of nuclear war: The Israeli authorities' gamble that nuclear weapons may turn the entire Middle East into a nuclear arms race arena, and in the absence of peace between Israel and the Arabs such a development would be catastrophic for the entire region, including the state of Israel.

What will Israel gain by joining the SDI plan, which was one of the issues discussed during Carlucci's talks in Jerusalem? The monopolies of the military industrial establishment will reap large profits. It is clear, however, that by joining the plan that will turn space into yet another confrontation arena the Israeli leadership would be contributing to the exacerbation of tension in the world and in the region. Growing tension in the Middle East increases the threat to the State of Israel's security, and reduces the chances of attaining peace which Israel needs no less than the Arabs.

We definitely believe that Israel's militarization as a result of its expanding strategic ties with the United States is incompatible with the real interests and vital needs of the Israeli people. We also believe that the time has come to draw conclusions. The real goal is not to toe the line of U.S. policy, but to take action for the sake of the real interests of the masses. If not, then the Jewish state will remain one of the most dangerous places in which to live.

The Soviet and international public vehemently denounce the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel, and see it as a threat to world peace and to the security of the Middle East and the world at large. The nations deplore Israeli-U.S. cooperation in the sphere of militarization and in the arms race in space, and demand the fulfillment of the demands of all nations for free choice, peace and security, and sovereign development. This demand applies to the state of Israel, as well as other countries and nations in the Middle East. We have no doubt that the Israeli public will ultimately shun the extreme rightwing circles which are turning the country into a tool of the ally beyond the ocean.

CPSU Greets Algerian FLN Party Congress

PM2911154388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated CPSU Central Committee greetings to Algerian National Liberation Front congress]

[Text] To the Sixth Algerian National Liberation Front Party Congress

The CPSU Central Committee greets the delegates to the Sixth National Liberation Front Party Congress.

People in the Soviet Union follow with sincere interest the important political and socioeconomic processes in the life of friendly Algeria, in the course of which a search is being made for an effective solution to urgent problems of democratic development and the cohesion of the country's patriotic forces.

In its relations with Algeria the Soviet Union invariably proceeds from the commonality or closeness of the two states' positions on fundamental questions of the present day. We note with profound satisfaction that our countries cooperate closely in building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world and civilized international relations, an organic part of which is the ensuring of the right of every people to choose its own path of development. The revolutionary restructuring being carried out in the USSR is conducive to the further deepening and improvement of equitable Soviet-Algerian cooperation.

We wish your congress successful work for the good of the Algerian people.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

East Europe

Gorbachev on Polish Relations, Historical Topics

PM3011110388 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian 8-24 Nov 88 [Signed to Press 17 Nov] p 4

[A. Mikhaylov article: "USSR-Poland: Toward New Frotiers"]

[Excerpts] Within the framework of his official friendly visit to Poland, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Polish scientific and cultural figures 14 July. A delegation of the Soviet intelligentsia also took part in the meeting which was held in Warsaw's royal castle.

The Political Literature Publishing House recently published the stenographic record of this meeting. The following have been published in the anthology entitled "The Intelligentsia in the Face of New Problems of Socialism": the opening address given by Professor B. Sukhodolkskiy, chairman of the National Council for Culture; M.S. Gorbachev's speech; speeches by Polish and Soviet participants in the meeting; M.S. Gorbachev's concluding remarks; and also speeches sent in letter form, and the postscript written by M.S. Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

Writer Professor A. Sandauer asked the CPSU Central Committee general secretary a question that he admitted might be risky and critical. "I noticed during my stay in the Soviet Union that the main person and main ideology to whom the general secretary refers is Lenin and Leninism," he said. "But two facts should be taken into consideration: Lenin was a remarkable individual but he died young. That is why Leninism is a period of only a few years set against the subsequent 60 years or so, which are assessed critically and even extremely critically. Second, the situation today is quite different.... What is the role of the party in this situation, when the world revolution has been put off indefinitely? What role should it play so as not to be just a bureaucracy resting on another bureaucracy?"

The representatives of the Polish intelligentsia also spoke of the need to look in a new way at the so-called "blank spots" in the history of Polish-Soviet relations.

M.S. Gorbachev answered some of the questions in his closing remarks and others in the postscript. The latter is valuable in that the Soviet leader gave an in-depth, scientific analysis of the changes taking place in the USSR and the world.

M.S. Gorbachev stressed that diversity of ideas and opinions on the destiny of socialism and ways to develop it is of tremendous significance for our common cause. "In our country, when we talked about heterodoxy, even quite recently we immediately asked ourselves the following question: Is it not time to put an end to it?" he said in his closing remarks. Yet heterodoxy simply means different ideas. There should always be different ideas during the discussion of major problems, major issues, serious issues, and new issues.... Heterodoxy—if it is heterodoxy rather than political speculation (this does also occur)—is the motive force behind spiritual and scientific-technical progress."

In his postscript M.S. Gorbachev wrote that not all the meeting's participants had the same opinion on particular problems, events, and past and present facts and did not all have the same views on the way forward. "I do not agree with all the speakers' ideas," he continued. "I respond to Professor B. Sukhodolskiy's proposal to once again deliver the closing remarks not in order to engage in polemics after the event but to expound or clarify my viewpoint on a number of fundamental questions of interest to the meeting's participants."

In response to Professor A. Sandauer, M.S. Gorbachev wrote the following: "The vitality and creative potential of Marxism-Leninism by no means lies in the idea that every single line that its founders wrote is of absolute and everlasting significance. No. Truth is always specific. Many ideas, including major ideas that they put forward under specific historical circumstances, belong to their own time. They have 'exhausted' their usefulness and receded into history. But the important things remain for the future and still need to be adequately implemented—in light, of course, of the new conditions.... Lenin must be known fully—known and understood in the context of all his theoretical and political creative work and all the work of this gigantic, universal mind."

Returning to the postscript and to the comments from Professor J. Szczepanski regarding the role of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia in restructuring, M.S. Gorbachev stressed: Although it was noted for many years both in theory and in politics that the working class is the leading force in society, under conditions of command-edict methods of management and hypercentralization the worker was by no means always able to independently resolve the most elementary questions even in his own work place. "You could sometimes hear the question," M.S. Gorbachev continued: "Are workers ready to participate in management, and do they have a real interest in it and a sufficiently broad outlook and professional knowledge? We do not flatter ourselves. Within the working class—just as within the intelligentsia and within the party itself—there are people who are passive and indifferent and who think only of their personal gain. But under conditions of restructuring we see an increasing broadening in the ranks of that body of workers who are joining in the process of transformations at their enterprises, in sectors, and on a state scale actively, consciously, and militantly, with the determination and certainty of judgment that is characteristic of this class, a practical streak on any question, and heightened common sense."

M.S. Gorbachev devoted a great deal of attention to difficult moments in the history of Soviet-Polish relations. He stressed, in particular, that the conclusion of

the USSR-German Non-Aggression Pact of 23 August 1939 was inevitable. As for the Treaty on Friendship Between the USSR and Germany of 28 September 1939 and Molotov's statements in this connection the author wrote: "...We deem that not only a political mistake with grave consequences both for us and also for other countries and the communist movement but an outright, defiant departure from Leninism and a violation of Leninist principles."

The postscript also assesses another difficult moment in Soviet-Polish relations—the death of Polish officers at Katyn. "Many people in Poland are convinced," M.S. Gorbachev wrote, "that this was the work of Stalin and Beriya. The history of this tragedy is now being thoroughly investigated. You can judge from the results of the investigation how justified particular judgments and assessments are."

At the same time M.S. Gorbachev indicated that cleansing the past of the "blank spots" must at the same time also prepare the path to a future in conformity with Soviet-Polish relations. He proposed the creation of an independent public Institute for Soviet-Polish Studies with its own funds.

The anthology of materials on M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with the representatives of the Polish intelligentsia has undoubtedly played a large role in improving the fraternal relations between the USSR and Poland.

Soviet-Polish Regional Relations Discussed
PM2211152688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin report under the rubric "From the Socialist Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries": "Developing Cross-Border Ties"]

[Text] Bialystok, 21 Nov—The first meeting of the "roundtable" of secretaries of cooperating committees of the PZPR and CPSU is taking place in this border voivodship center in Poland. Taking part are leaders of the party organizations of Bialystok and Biala Podlaska, Jelenia Gora and Lublin, Olsztyn, Plock, Suwalki, Szczecin, and other voivodships. And on the Soviet side—from Minsk and Grodno, Brest and Kaliningrad, Mogilev, Vitebsk, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

The participants in the "roundtable" are focusing their attention on questions of further strengthening Polish-Soviet relations and links between the PZPR and CPSU and the implementation of the joint Declaration on Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture, as well as the Joint Soviet-Polish Statement signed by M.S. Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski during the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's visit to Poland.

Regional cooperation has relatively rich traditions and experience. Today all the Polish voivodships maintain lively ties with 47 Soviet partners. Moreover there are reciprocal ties between 61 primary party organizations, more than 650 production enterprises, over 250 institutions, and some 140 local social organizations.

The Soviet-Polish meeting in Bialystok will make it possible to analyze the effectiveness of mutual relations in accordance with the demands of the new times and uncover reserves for deepening direct ties between party organs, enterprises, and institutions in the two fraternal countries in all spheres of sociopolitical life.

Taking part in the international "roundtable" are J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; S. Gabrielski, chief of the PZPR Central Committee Organization Department; G.S. Ostroumov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; and V.I. Brovikov, USSR ambassador to Poland.

Polish Government-Trade Union Accord Needed
PM2911184588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Polish National Trade Union Alliance Conference Over"]

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Nov—A businesslike, critical analysis of the work of the past 2 years and the elaboration of a clear and consistent action program for the immediate future—that was the main result of the third Polish National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] conference which ended last Sunday in Lodz.

On the final day of the trade union forum the participants were addressed by M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. He stressed that the implementation of the socioeconomic reforms is impossible without the maximum social support. There must be a social accord between the government and the trade unions, because the country's economic situation is difficult and in some areas simply dramatic [dramaticheskiy]. The basis for the conclusion of such an accord is approval of the method of talks and consultations. The Council of Ministers wants to cooperate with the unions as partners.

The conference voted on a motion of confidence in the OPZZ council executive committee. This leading organ's activity was approved by an overwhelming majority.

Paper Commemorates Yugoslav National Holiday
PM2911170588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by TASS correspondent A. Bocharov "specially written for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" and pegged to Yugoslavia's Republic Day: "On the Threshold of Reforms"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In the decades since they embarked on the path of socialist development the SFRY peoples have achieved considerable success. But the current anniversary is not only a cause for celebration for the Yugoslav comrades. They have been carrying out a comprehensive and businesslike analysis both of achievements and of as yet unresolved problems and difficulties which have been particularly evident and, moreover, have worsened of late. Inflation, which has passed the 200-percent mark, with grim social consequences; the heavy burden of the foreign debt; imbalances in the economy; more than 1 million people unemployed—this is by no means a complete list of the problems disrupting the normal rhythm of SFRY development.

At the moment the country is actively preparing for reforms in the economy, the political system, and the party, which will start being implemented next year. On 25 November, on the threshold of the national holiday, the SFRY Federal Assembly proclaimed the adoption and entry into force of amendments to the country's Constitution. Their purpose is to ensure the implementation of the projected transformations and to pave the way for the country's emergence from the spell of difficulties.

"The amendments supplementing or replacing 135 articles of the country's Basic Law, which has been in operation since 1974," SFRY Federal Assembly President D. Popovski said, "envisage improving the normative part of the Constitution, but not changing the basic principles of the state setup. We do not intend to change the socialist and self-governing character of Yugoslavia and its foreign policy of nonalignment."

"The foundation of economic reform"—this is the name of the draft comprehensive program submitted by the country's government for examination by the SFRY Federal Assembly. The document should be the platform which will create important prerequisites for profound changes in the national economy. The establishment of equality between the different types of ownership will be a turning point in the proposed transformations. Economists here believe that it will bring people's savings into the economy through the issue of shares, and ensure working people's direct involvement in running enterprises. Opportunities are being created for foreign capital to invest in the development of Yugoslav enterprises and joint-stock companies, in cooperative and other enterprises, and to set up its own firms. The draft laws in preparation on the enterprise, property, and labor relations will make the enterprise the basic economic entity, and will widen labor collectives' independence in making decisions relating to production activity and development and forms of self-management organization.

In order to complete the picture of the new quest for new directions in the development of Yugoslav society, it should be noted that an important step has been taken on the path of implementing transformations in the LCY: An LCY Central Committee commission to handle their preparation has been set up and has recently started work. The "reconstruction" of party bodies is seen as an essential condition of the enhancement of its role in society, the implementation of reforms in the economy and the political system, and the further development of socialist democracy.

Any tour of Yugoslavia will always throw up new examples of the dynamic and stable development of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation. Around 100 industrial enterprises and other facilities have been constructed and commissioned in the SFRY with technical and economic assistance from our country. For the purposes of assessing the results of cooperation it should be noted that 14 power stations with a total capacity of 5.2 million kilowatts are already operating in the energy sphere, comprising 26 percent of the total established capacity. In turn, Yugoslav construction workers are building industrial and other facilities in the USSR, and Soviet customers have paid tribute to the taste and skill of Yugoslav furniture, footwear, and garment manufacturers. [passage omitted]

Soviet-Yugoslav relations are multifaceted, embracing various spheres of the economy, trade, culture, science, and technology. Ties are developing successfully between the two countries' armed forces. This was evidenced by the recent official friendly visit to the SFRY by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister. During the meetings on hospitable Yugoslav soil it was stressed that these ties, based on the glorious traditions of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples' combat collaboration in the struggle against the common enemy during World War II, also serve the interests of strengthening world peace and international security.

Soviet Historians To Open Archives to Yugoslavs
LD1611000988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2150 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 16 (TANJUG)—Soviet historians today said they would do everything to enable their Yugoslav colleagues to use the Soviet archives for their research.

The promise was made at a session of the Yugoslav-Soviet historians' commission on the eve of a scientific meeting on Yugoslav-Soviet relations up to 1945 to mark the 150th anniversary of the appointment of the first Soviet consul to Serbia (now a Yugoslav republic).

Yugoslavia and Yugoslav historians are especially interested in the archives of the Comintern (Third International) which contains many documents on the work of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the fate of Yugoslav Communists during Stalin's purges.

It is believed that the archives of the Vatican and the Comintern are the two most interesting archives in the world since they contain documents of great importance to the history of Christianity and communism, and thus to mankind because these two movements have had a crucial influence on the development of civilization.

The influence of the Comintern on the CPY lessened shortly before the outbreak of World War Two, when the Yugoslav Communist Party started off on its own course.

Ahead of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia early this year, Yugoslavia was given access to some documents on the work of the CPY.

The archive of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was given 562 micro-films on the Comintern's dealing with the "Yugoslav question," but they do not contain material on the fate of Yugoslav communists in Stalin's purges.

The declaration on Yugoslav-Soviet relations signed because of and during Gorbachev's visit, reaffirmed the democratic principles of the relations between the two countries and parties which were the result of the 1955 Belgrade declaration and the 1956 Moscow statement.

These two documents marked a normalization of relations between the two countries and parties after the estrangement in the period of Cominform 1948-1953. By signing these documents, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev admitted that Yugoslavia and the CPY were the victims of unjustifiable harassment and isolation over disagreement with Stalin's dictatorship.

After Khrushchev's admission and apology to the Yugoslav leaders, the Soviet Union no longer exerted pressure or interfered in the relations between the two countries which would directly jeopardize the independence, integrity and Yugoslavia's right for its own course of development.

The relations stagnated and there were even open conflicts whenever the Soviet Union's foreign policy and ideological doctrines conflicted with the stands of Yugoslavia and its party on strict respect for independence, integrity, sovereignty, non-interference, democratic relations between progressive parties and movements and the right for its own course of development.

Relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union were strained during the Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956, during the Warsaw Pact's intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviet Union's involvement in the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea in 1979 and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan later that year.

Yugoslav-Soviet relations were also burdened with conflict over the movement of non-alignment as an independent, global and non-bloc factor in international relations. The Soviet doctrine disagreed with such a role of the movement and saw it in the function of its own strategic interests.

The declaration signed during Gorbachev's visit leads to the conclusion that such moments in the relations between the two countries are in the past.

The document, adopted at the initiative of the Soviet Union, reaffirmed all the principles contained in the Belgrade declaration and the Moscow statement, to which Yugoslavia had always adhered.

The text of the declaration was changed, and it treats the movement of non-aligned in a way that the Soviet Union has not practiced before, giving the document international importance.

SFRY Presidency Discusses Kosovo Problems

PM2211152888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Objective—Stabilization"]

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov—At a session of the SFRY Presidency held on Sunday, topical questions of the domestic political situation and the safeguarding of security in Kosovo were examined, as well as the measures adopted to normalize the situation in this autonomous province, TANJUG reports. The Presidency studied a new report by the Kosovo Presidency, the Serbian Presidency, and the federal secretary for internal affairs.

The SFRY Presidency, the announcement says, insists on the continuation of very broad political actions aimed at lessening the tension of the domestic political situation, normalizing life and labor, ensuring full observance of social order, and ensuring tranquillity and security for all citizens in the province. The SFRY Presidency regards as harmful the mass gatherings of a single nationality, believing that they cause disorders and instability, exacerbate interethnic discord, and hamper people's normal life and work and the functioning of state and social institutions in the province. The SFRY Presidency resolutely demands an immediate end to such gatherings.

Direct Ukrainian-Slovak Cooperation Initiated

AU2111154588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Nov 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "The Ukraine and Slovakia at a New Stage of Cooperation"]

[Text] The establishment and expansion of direct contacts with foreign countries at various levels is one of the characteristic features of restructuring taking place in our country. A statement on further expanding and deepening cooperation between the Ukrainian SSR and the Slovak Socialist Republic (the CSSR) was signed in Kiev on 13 November. This document, which defines the main sectors of developing relations between the two republics and sets a program for the practical activities of their state offices and public organizations, was signed by V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and V. Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council and head of the council's delegation. The statement declares their mutual aspiration to increase contribution to further developing and deepening Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in the interest of restructuring and democratization in the USSR and the CSSR.

The signing ceremony was attended by Yu.G. Bakhtin and N.G. Khomenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman and secretary, respectively; V.P. Fokin, V.A. Kravets, Yu.A. Olenenko, I.I. Lukinov, and V.L. Filonenko, deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet; and on the part of the visitors by J. Gregor, first deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council; B. Biros, J. Varga, R. Schuster, and E. Lagova, deputies to the Slovak National Council; and M. Kovac, CSSR consul general in Kiev.

The Slovak parliamentarians spent 5 days familiarizing themselves with the Ukraine. V. Salgovic, CPSL Central Committee Presidium member, chairman of the Slovak National Council, and head of the delegation, was received by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary. The visitors held meetings in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Kiev gorkom to inquire about the work of the soviets of people's deputies under the conditions of restructuring, and attended the ninth session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation.

The delegation members visited the V.I. Lenin "Elektronmash" production association and the Ye.O. Paton Electric Arc Welding Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, both closely cooperating with their Czechoslovak partners, and made a trip to Ovruchskiy Rayon, Zhitomir Oblast.

Tasks accomplished by the Soviet people resemble problems facing our people, V. Salgovic pointed out. We signed the statement on cooperation between the Ukraine and Slovakia with full responsibility. This document meets the aspirations with which the delegation arrived in your republic. It is important to note that this document reflects not only the cooperation developing between the organizations of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Slovak National Council, but also pays great attention to the deepening economic, scientific, technical, and cultural relations, and to close contacts established along the lines of public organizations.

Wherever we were, the head of the delegation continued, we saw the Soviet people's interest in restructuring, their warm desire to struggle for its irreversibility. This is not a phrase, but a reality. This truth is evidence that the Soviet people do not see any other alternative, and that they dedicate all their talents, efforts, and intellects to the rapid advancement of restructuring. We are going home enriched with a useful experience that we will undoubtedly use to invigorate the process of renewal in our country.

The delegation has left for home. At Borispol airport, with the state flags of the CSSR, the USSR, and the Ukrainian SSR flying, the visitors were seen off by V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and other officials. The farewell party included M. Kovac, CSSR consul general in Kiev.

Romanian Party Delegation Visits 13-18 Nov

PM2411152188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ties Developing"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the RCP a delegation of RCP officials headed by F. Gitse [name as transliterated], member of the RCP Central Committee and deputy chief of the RCP Central Committee Propaganda and Media Department, visited the Soviet Union 13-18 November.

The Romanian comrades acquainted themselves with CPSU experience in ideological and educational work in conditions of restructuring. They attended meetings and talks at the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, Lipetsk CPSU Obkom, the USSR Ministry of Culture, and the editorial office of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, and visited a number of enterprises and institutions.

West Europe

French Media Cited on Mitterrand Visit

PM2911154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Response to Moscow Meetings"]

[Excerpt] The new top-level Soviet-French dialogue is the chief topic of reports and commentaries in the world's mass media. Foreign newspapers, in particular,

emphasize that the two countries' leaders reached the common conclusion that, in order to advance successfully, it is necessary to develop everything positive that has already been manifested recently and, above all, to continue the talks process.

The French television company Antenne-2 and the radio station Europe-1 carried the statements made in Moscow by M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand. The reportage on the statements was broadcast during the evening newscast, which commands the maximum audience. An Antenne-2 commentary pointed out that the top-level Soviet-French talks are being held in an outstanding atmosphere reflecting the real improvement in bilateral relations.

Paris LE MONDE writes: France intends once again to take its proper place in the dialogue which is currently developing between East and West thanks to the Soviet leader's initiatives. The problem of the French nuclear deterrent force has become one of the chief issues for the USSR. Is it possible to talk about advocating arms reduction while at the same time maintaining strike forces?—this is the question being asked in the USSR. On the other hand, the two sides' positions on questions of reducing conventional arms and banning chemical weapons are drawing closer. According to LE MONDE, France is changing its viewpoint on these problems. France has also accepted the principle of holding an international conference on human rights, to be held in Moscow in 1991.

Touching on business ties between the two countries, LE MONDE writes that the actual state of trade and economic relations between the two countries was on the agenda of the Soviet-French talks. Does France not intend to oust Italy and move up to third place in terms of the volume of trade with the USSR (after the FRG and Finland)?—LE MONDE asks.

Paris L'HUMANITE voices the hope that the contracts being concluded between the two sides in the trade and economic sphere and which can be realized in the very near future mark a real improvement in bilateral ties. [passage omitted]

Soviet-Austrian Cooperation Commission Meets

PM2911153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Mutual Interest"]

[Text] Vienna, 26 Nov—The 20th session of the Soviet-Austrian Mixed Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has ended here. After the plenary sessions the final protocol of the session was signed, providing for a further increase in the efficiency of Soviet-Austrian economic cooperation.

The members of the Soviet delegation which participated in the session were received by Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock. It was emphasized during the talks that the current reform of the Soviet economy is opening up new opportunities for the development of Soviet-Austrian relations.

UK Opinion Poll Probes Gorbachev Popularity

PM2911153988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Soviet Leader Preferred"]

[Text] London, 27 Nov—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is the most respected foreign leader in Britain. According to the results of a public opinion poll cited in today's OBSERVER, 44 percent voted for the Soviet leader. R. Reagan received 23 percent of the votes.

To the question who is capable of making the bigger contribution to peace in the future, M.S. Gorbachev or President-elect G. Bush, 60 percent opted for the Soviet leader and only 18 percent for G. Bush.

Party Secretary Addresses Italian Communist Plenum

PM2911135388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Nov 88 Second Edition p5

[TASS report: "Italian Communist Party Document Discussed"]

[Text] Rome, 25 Nov—A plenum of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) Central Committee and Central Control Commission devoted to drafting the basic document for the forthcoming party congress has opened in the Italian capital. Achille Occhetto, secretary general of the PCI, read a report at the plenum. He discussed the main points of the draft document submitted for the plenum's discussion, stressing the enormous importance of the 18th PCI Congress, which is to be held in spring next year.

He devoted special attention in his report to the problems of socialism, the situation in Europe, and international politics.

According to the speaker, the need to build socialism stems from the contradictions of capitalist society and is an objective response to them. At the same time, the social and class contradictions determining this need

cannot be eliminated if socialism is presented as a closed system. "It is becoming increasingly difficult to govern the world by proceeding from the concepts of systems and blocs," A. Occhetto said. "We are living at a time when the era of systems in opposition to one another is coming to a close."

The colossal amounts of money spent on weapons provide the most graphic illustration of the negative consequences of this logic. "Consequently we say," the document states, "that disarmament is a fundamental historical need not only for the prevention of war but also to free enormous resources that can and must be used to resolve the major contradictions of our age.... We must ensure development based on the principle of interdependence. The role played by Europe, and Italy in particular, is a decisive one in this context."

The PCI welcomes the prospect of forming a "single European market." The speaker also indicated the difficulties that stand in this path and the possibility that this process could lead to the formation of "a dangerous shortage of democracy" in Europe.

The speaker pointed out that the PCI "is discussing a European path to socialism, and democracy as socialism's path." "We define socialism...as a process of gradually expanding democracy."

We Italian Communists, A. Occhetto stressed, want to cooperate in the building of a "common European home" and intend to make our own contribution to the quest now being led by left-wing forces in Europe. These forces must be united and must overcome their historical differences and become a real democratic alternative in Europe.

Political & Social

USSR Supreme Soviet Convenes 29-30 November

TV Shows Leaders at Opening

LD2911143288 [Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1230 GMT on 29 November, in its "Novosti" newscast, carries a 4-minute report over video on the opening of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin on 29 November.

The video shows senior officials entering and taking their places on the presidium while the audience can be seen applauding. Voss is shown opening the session, followed by shots of Gorbachev, Shevchenko, Kamay, Zhirnov, Nishanov, Yefremov, and Tatliyev delivering addresses.

As the speeches are being delivered, the camera shows the senior officials seated in the presidium as follows (all from left to right of screen):

Front row: Four deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Voss, Khristoradnov, three deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;

Second row: empty, Ligachev, empty, Ryzhkov, Gorbachev, aisle, Razumovskiy;

Third row: empty, Shevardnadze, Chebrikov, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, aisle, Shcherbitskiy, empty,

Fourth row: empty, Medvedev, Nikonov, Yakovlev, Slyunkov, aisle, Maslyukov, Yazov, Talyzin.

Back row: all unidentified.

'Text' of Gorbachev Speech

LD3011005288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] The following is the full text of the report "Toward the Full Power of Soviets (popularly elected governing councils) and the Creation of a Socialist Rule-of-Law State," which was delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a Supreme Soviet session which opened here on Tuesday:

I.

Comrade deputies,

At this special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet we are to discuss, with account taken of preceding nationwide debates, and adopt draft laws on elections and on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution.

Along with restructuring in the party, which should bring out its potential as the political vanguard of society, free it of functions which are extrinsic to it and ensure a division of labor between party, government and economic agencies, the bills before the Supreme Soviet pave the way to wide-ranging practical work to effect political reform mapped out by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

A further and strong fillip is thus being given to the process of democratizing Soviet society.

What is the place of the projected changes in the overall program of revolutionary restructuring?

If we are to define this particular moment, to draw, so to say, its political portrait, we can say that it is one of transition from a phase where the situation, which had taken shape by the mid-eighties, was analyzed, where the design was born and the integral concept for restructuring conceived, to a phase where ideas are increasingly acquiring the nature of political directives and statutes and practical action to organize life in a new way is assuming priority.

It is a period both complicated and decisively crucial.

Restructuring is the top priority in our activities. It provides the key to preserving and developing genuine socialist gains, ideals and principles, overcoming the aberrations and negative trends of the past, and tackling practical tasks in every region, locality and worker collective.

This is why it is vital to act so that this process will gain in strength and no coincidence of circumstances, and no private problems and obscurities will be able to hold it back, let alone jeopardize it.

This, comrades, should be remembered by all of us—by every worker, farmer, intellectual, every Soviet citizen.

One distinctive feature of this moment is that our further progress is increasingly coming up against inadequate political institutions. We feel this at every step.

The enactment of laws on state enterprises and cooperatives and the creation of conditions to introduce financial autonomy and self-financing, contracting and leaseholding on a wide scale have set the stage for gradually mending things in the economy and improving the life of the people.

But many shopfloor initiatives are being lost in bureaucratic mazes or are even encountering resistance.

This is why the main lesson of the recent past is that it is impossible to break stagnation quickly without democratizing every aspect of our life and reviving the soviets, popularly elected governing councils, as representative bodies of power and popular self-government.

This also answers a question one hears often, namely: Isn't it too early to buckle down to political reform, without first building a material basis for it and achieving a breakthrough in meeting vital public needs for food, consumer goods, services and housing?

No, comrades, there are no easy ways. I have had many occasions to say that it is only by combining economic reform with political changes, democratization and glasnost that we can fulfill both the immediate and long-term tasks we have set ourselves.

If we do not carry out political reform to back up the processes that are now underway in the economy, the social transformation of society and the recuperation in the cultural field and fail to radically update the activities of the governing councils and our personnel, the drive for restructuring will inevitably begin to skid.

We have learnt our lessons from the experience of abortive past attempts to rectify the state of affairs in the economy without altering anything in politics and without extensive democratic change.

Political reform is a kind of oxygen necessary for the vital activity of the public organism.

Its objective is through greater democracy in every area of life to blend the interests of the individual with the interests of the collective and of society at large, affirm in practice the position of the working man as his own master in both production and the state, and place him in the center of the political process.

Restructuring has literally blown up the illusory peace and harmony which reigned supreme in this country in the years of torpor, kicked off broad-based and free-wheeling debates and put the spotlight on many urgent and even painful issues.

And it is essential for the energy of this social process to be applied to real work and wholly devoted to achieving truly revolutionary constructive purposes rather than being dissipated, squandered or, all the more so, converted into social and ethnic strife.

Now we've come to face immense, uphill tasks and it is important not to lose heart in the face of the scale of their novelty and the diversity of judgements and emotions that have surged forth.

All this has become possible thanks to restructuring and should assist the continuing processes of revitalizing our society.

We should unswervingly and consistently march along the path charted by the 27th congress and the 19th party conference and forge democratic tools for free expression and harmonizing of varied opinions and interests.

Everything I have said, comrade deputies, serves to underline the significance of the issue before the USSR Supreme Soviet today.

We should also clearly see the place of the projected changes in developing Soviet statehood and weigh them, so to speak, on the scales of history.

The question of power is the most important question in any society. But it acquires special significance in revolutionary periods when the old political system is broken down and a new one is established, when the orders and rules by which society will have to live and develop for a whole historical epoch are instituted.

All political issues—the place and role of the party, of the Soviet State, trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations, the order of their interrelationships, principles and standards regulating the activity of managerial bodies and the progress of state life, relations between the state and the citizen—I repeat, all political issues should be handled in conditions of socialism by taking into account the principal thing, that of the interests of the working man.

In the first post-October (revolution) period, to use Lenin's words, "united all-state soviet power sealed by the federal union" was established.

Congresses of soviets and sessions of the Central Executive Committee were convened on a regular basis, in which the most important issues of the country's life were examined and resolved in an atmosphere of free debate.

Millions of workers and peasants were involved in political life through local soviets and learned to run their state. The work of the apparatus was vigilantly controlled by bodies of workers' and peasants' inspection.

Of course, far from everything went smoothly in the political mechanism at that early stage of building socialism. But a foundation of socialist democracy was built, its institutions were being perfected and traditions formed.

It is now clear what immense costs—human, political, ideological and moral and not in the least turn material—our country paid as a result of the disruption of that process and the establishment since the early thirties of authoritarian methods of power, a system of bureaucratic command management. Mass repressions and other violations of socialist legality became widespread. The gradual removal of workers from real participation in runnng state and public affairs, the growing gap between the officially proclaimed democratic principles and the practice of the political process, the supplanting of representative bodies by the apparatus and its increasing bureaucratization and estrangement from the masses—all that resulted in the ossification of the political system.

It started turning from the engine of society into a brake on its development.

However, it was unable to fully constrain people's energy born of the great revolution and faith in the ideals of socialism.

It is thanks to the energy, selfless work and struggle of hundreds of thousands of Communists, millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals that our country turned into one of the most developed and influential states in the world and won the hardest war ever known in world history.

The damage caused to the cause of socialism was immense. At present, we intend to revive the values of the October revolution and put into life the revolution-proclaimed slogans of freedom and democracy with due account for the accumulated economic, social, cultural and intellectual potential. The spiritual experience of our people is a factor of great significance.

Naturally, reforming the political system is a task of exceptional importance that is impossible to resolve in one attempt, so to speak.

It is therefore important to see the entire scope and character of the work to be done on implementing decisions of the 19th party conference on political reform and to fix a rational order of priority for handling its tasks.

The principal content of the first stage of the reform is renovating the structure of soviets, the order of the formation and the activity of the supreme bodies of power and the electoral system. The draft laws submitted for discussion to this session are aimed to achieve precisely that.

The next major stage of political transformations will be linked with the harmonization of relations between the union, USSR, and its constituent republics.

Questions of the status of the union republics, of broadening their rights and opportunities in political, socio-economic and cultural life and on this basis strengthening our federal socialist state wil be examined at that stage.

The same applies to autonomous entities: republics, regions and districts.

Reorganizing local government is another stage of the reform. It is necessary to have concern for creating the material and legal prerequisites to enable the Soviets really to handle all issues of local life and revive them as bodies of people's self-government with full power.

The elections to local soviets planned for late 1989 on the basis of the new electoral system will make it possible to promote people with initiative and vigor, people capable of fully using the new possibilities of the representative bodies.

We are launching, within the framework of political reform, a profound restructuring of the legal system and are starting to address ourselves to other questions connected with the formation of a socialist state committed to the rule of law.

A lot of legislative work to further democratize Soviet society has to be done in this area.

II.

Now about the results of the nationwide discussion of the submitted draft laws.

The unusual interest they evoked has shown the extent of people's interest in the correct solution of issues of organizing central power, how deeply the working people are aware of the fact that the effective functioning of the upper echelon of the political system is related to the implementation of all other tasks of restructuring and the very destiny of the country.

The chief result of the discussion of the draft laws is that the vital need for change is finding extensive understanding in our society and that there is agreement on principal moments of the proposed concept. This is of fundamental importance.

One can say that in general the drafts have received broad support, people see them as a sign of long-expected changes. The Soviet people approve the main idea of the documents, that of strengthening people's power.

The fact that support for the draft laws this time had nothing in common with formal approval of them is of importance as well. On the contrary, their publication gave rise to an active exchange of views, lively discussions, and a multitude of various suggestions and amendments. Judging by letters that have come in to the party and state bodies, by articles in the press, by statements to mass media, and speeches at working people's meetings, millions of people took part in the discussion. The number of comments and suggestions concerning the draft laws amounts to more than 300,000.

The commissions for legislative proposals of the two chambers of parliament have attentively considered all the remarks—and these, comrades, have taken up quite a number of tomes. The views of the working group, which consisted of our most prominent specialists in the field of legal and political science, have been taken into consideration.

As a result, it is suggested that 32 out of the 62 articles of the draft Law on the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR, and 26 out of the 55 articles of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution be given more precise definitions. The alterations include a number of proposals made by the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics. You, comrades, have the texts of the revised draft laws before you.

Before moving on to the description of the main amendments introduced on the strength of the countrywide discussion, I would like to touch upon some common aspects of it.

One of the issues which was heatedly discussed concerns the conformity of the draft laws and the decisions of the 19th CPSU conference. This in itself is yet more evidence that the program for political and legal reform worked out at the conference found the broadest support. Society has been gratified to note that the draft laws are within political guidelines set by the conference.

Of course, the conference's principled political decisions are one thing, and their translation in detail into the language of legal formulas is quite another. Quite a number of new aspects emerge in this process and, quite naturally, become the subject of discussion.

A majority of remarks were aimed at streamlining the draft laws, at strengthening this or that provision, developing and enriching the political guidelines of the conference. But there were also remarks which questioned the conformity of the published draft laws and the decisions of the conference. However, there are no grounds for such a view. In order to see that, suffice it to mention the main elements of the political reform concept set out by the conference.

These are the establishment of a system of congresses of people's deputies, the transformation of the USSR Supreme Soviet into a permanently functioning body, the setting up of a committee for constitutional supervision, a radical democratization of elections, a direct representation of public organizations on higher bodies of power. All this has found reflection in the draft laws.

The question of how long the draft laws should be discussed was also raised. A number of comrades argued that the 1-month period was not enough to work out the draft laws thoroughly. I would like to say, first of all, that the scope and nature of the discussion, its openness and full freedom of expression of views give ground to the belief that the draft laws were subjected to painstaking expert examination by all people.

Secondly, I think comrades do not take into account the fact that the main ideas inherent in the draft laws were actively discussed prior to and at the CPSU's conference, and on the strength of its results. So, it is already quite a long time that we have been discussing the range of matters which we are now to decide upon.

And, finally, one should bear in mind that to delay the adoption of draft laws would mean in point of fact to slow down transformations being effected in all spheres of our life within the framework of restructuring. Thereby, the taking of measures, provided for by the second and subsequent stages of the political reform, would have to be postponed.

I want to mention yet another important matter raised during the countrywide discussion. Along with many specific suggestions envisaging this or that amendment to the draft laws, many pronouncements went beyond the scope of the draft laws. This is in general quite understandable: People's interests are much wider than any organizational framework, and all essential aspects of social life are in this or that way connected with the political system.

Issues concerning the economic mechanism, food supply, ecology, the work of law enforcement agencies, and many other matters concerning everyday life and requirements of people were raised during the discussion. It goes without saying that all these proposals should be attentively considered and resolved in practice. And those matters which are connected with subsequent stages of the political reform will become a good guide in the drafting of appropriate legislative statutes.

Separate mention should be made of pronouncements in favor of broader and far-reaching changes in the Constitution of the USSR. This applies to a radical rewording of the preamble, a new interpretation of socialist property, cooperatives, self-government, the citizens's rights, and other important issues.

Really, much in the Constitution of 1977 is already in need of renewal. But this is the domain of subsequent work, for we have just embarked upon the road of radical reforms of the economic and political system, spiritual renewal, and constantly look for and find new aspects of the problems being tackled, and every now and then we have to put ourselves right, make things more precise and correct ourselves. This is why it is being suggested that only those amendments without which it is impossible to begin the formation of a new structure of the soviets and to launch a political reform should be introduced to the Fundamental Law.

III.

Now I am moving on to an evaluation of the main content of the draft laws, of those innovations of principle which are to create necessary legal conditions for the unfolding of socialist democracy and people's self-government.

Analyzing the causes of the difficulties and problems which our society has had to encouter, we again and again arrive at a conclusion that the main among them were the distortion of the principles of socialist statehood, and a sharp slackening of people's control over the bodies of power and administration.

The true contents and idea of the activity of soviets were largely nullified as they turned, in actual fact, from the bodies of people's power into the links of the command and bureaucratic system.

To resolutely put an end to this situation, to breathe new life into soviets is the main task of the reform we are currently carrying out.

The major features, which distinguished Soviet organization from the beginning, which give it its unique character and make it the optimum form of the socialist state system and democracy are not only preserved but also extended.

This is primarily the unity of the entire system of soviets as representative bodies of people's power from bottom to top.

Unlike the traditional state system, where political power is concentrated in the hands of central bodies—parliament and government—with only limited municipal administration allowed at local level, the Soviet state is based upon the idea of full power of all links of the soviets on their own territory, each soviet acting as a constituent part of supreme power.

Today we restore this principle and secure powers for all representative bodies.

In accordance with the demands of the 19th CPSU conference all major matters of state, economic, social and cultural life will be considered and decided by the soviets.

The supremacy of the representative system, its integrity and unity are significantly strengthened thanks to the introduction of such an important element as the Congresses of People's Deputies at national and republican levels.

This novelty was primarily dictated by the need to ensure against abuses of power in the upper storeys on the state building—a task which can only be tackled by a body representing all social strata and shades of public opinion, enjoying the indisputable authority of the supreme popular forum.

Thus the Congresses of People's Deputies revive in new conditions the tradition of the congresses of soviets. They are called upon to guarantee what Lenin called "full democratism of the center".

The realization of another basic feature of the soviets is closely linked with it.

I mean their dual nature as state bodies and popular organizations.

It was this quality, which was unfortunately largely lost, that allowed the soviets to maintain the permanent live link with the working people, to be a focus of social activity, to link the idea of statehood with that of people's self-government.

We have to revive this original quality of the soviets in full measure. The Congress of People's Deputies, which will express public principles forcefully and directly, will play, undoubtedly, an important role here.

Finally, the basic feature of Soviet organization consists in the fact that the representative bodies of people's power under socialism were conceived as working corporations, using Marx's words.

In the past, the state apparatus and departments often dominated the soviets in our country. Deputies, especially those in the top links of the soviets, had little effect on the implementation of decisions, and their role in making laws was often a formality.

The situation should be changed drastically. Being a deputy entails permanent legislative, administrative and supervisory work.

In this connection special attention should be paid to the fact that the congress as the supreme body of authority will have the final say in solving the most important constitutional questions. Besides this it has the right to receive for consideration any matter of state which is under USSR jurisdiction.

But the congress, which will consist of 2,000-odd deputies and convene, as a rule, once a year, will not be able to conduct daily legislative, adminstrative and supervisory work.

This function will be performed by the permanent Supreme Soviet elected from among people's deputies.

In the course of the nationwide discussion much interest was shown to the new organization of central power. In particular, the question arose whether it was justified to return to congresses and to form a new Supreme Soviet as a permanently acting body.

I think, comrades, we are on the right track, it is as if we are reviving what distinguished the system of soviets, as Lenin understood it, and proved to be correct immediately after the revolution, although the system of soviets failed to fully reveal its huge potentialities.

It is not that we will simply return to the experience of the Congresses of Soviets, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Central Executive Committee. We were actually led to this by the present circumstances.

In actual fact, prior to each session of the Supreme Soviet several hundred deputies are drawn into the thorough consideration of issues put to discussion. They are already being called upon for prolonged periods of up to a month and more.

The Supreme Soviet cannot do a proper job if the role of the deputies is reduced to voting. And in future its members will be able to take over the drafting of laws at every phase in this painstaking process, naturally enough, with the involvement of experts, organizations and state agencies and with regard for public opinion.

The way the new Supreme Soviet should organize its work has been debated pretty keenly and some conflicting opinions have been voiced.

Some people believe that, in general, we shouldn't copy a bourgeois parliament and have full-time deputies.

Others believe, on the contrary, that the new Supreme Soviet will only be able to perform its wide-ranging duties if all its members are freed of any other work.

I think it is important for us now to determine a position of principle, recognizing it as essential for a definite portion of the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics to fully concentrate on their work in the bodies of power.

Let's discuss which particular portion it should be.

This will apparently be the right thing to do also in relation to the commission chairmen in the local governing councils. On the whole, the practical activities of the newly-founded bodies of power will hammer out this issue in detail.

Now let's turn to the powers of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. While remaining completely equal, in size and otherwise, each of them will acquire distinctive functions in line with their names and missions.

This approach has found approval and backing in the course of the debates. If there has been anything that aroused arguments, it has primarily been procedures for elections to the houses from the standpoint of the main requirement, that of ensuring a better representation of the union republics in the Council of Nationalities.

I think that the number of their representatives could be somewhat increased as compared with what is proposed in the draft, say from seven to eleven members of the Council of Nationalities from each union republic, while preserving the number of representatives from the autonomous entities. The size of the Council of the Union would then be increased correspondingly as well.

When speaking of the new functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the duties of the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the draft suggests procedures under which the president could have enough powers to organize the work of the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium but excessive concentration of power in one person would still be ruled out.

In other words, the collegiate way of deciding on key state problems, which is typical of the soviet system, will be preserved.

This removes the reason for concern expressed by some participants in the debates. It would be right, incidentally, to apply the same approach to the chairmen of all the soviets.

Let me proceed now to such highly important an issue as the accountability of authorities.

One can say it is our historic duty at this point in revolutionary restructuring to create all the essential guarantees to exclude the possibility of any part of the state machinery getting beyond the control of the people and their representatives.

A careful study of the drafts submitted to the Supreme Soviet makes it possible to see that the principle of accountability permeates the entire system of power and administration.

To begin with, the Congress of People's Deputies itself is the supreme controlling power in the country. It shall perform this function primarily by electing or endorsing higher officials—the president of the Supreme Soviet, the head of government and others.

It has been proposed in the course of the debates that the congress be able to recall all the officials elected and endorsed by it if they fail to discharge their duties. This has been reflected in the draft.

The congress will be the final arbiter in the event of disagreements between the houses of the Supreme Soviet: The lawmakers should also foresee this turn of events.

The congress will have the right to veto legislative acts passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Supervisory functions will also be fully inherent in the Supreme Soviet itself. These will include budget overseeing, checks on the work of ministries and departments, especially following complaints about an unfavorable state of affairs, and the right of deputies to request and receive explanations.

This right will definitely be used regularly in the new conditions. A proposal to take a more exacting attitude to agencies which have to be addressed by deputies deserves support. Reflecting other proposals, the draft

now gives the USSR Supreme Soviet the right to repeal decrees and decisions by its Presidium and orders by the Supreme Soviet president and makes it mandatory for the government to report back to the Supreme Soviet—at least once a year.

The authority of the People's Control Committee will be seriously strengthened. It will have the right to initiate legislation and its chairman will automatically become a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. If need be, the committee will be able to put issues before the Supreme Soviet and its houses.

In this way all the influence of the higher bodies of power will be used to restore justice where it has been violated or to prevent undesirable developments.

The proposal for setting up a committee for constitutional supervision has been approved in the countrywide debates.

All of us want to see it as an authoritative and, as is pertinent to say in this case, impartial organ standing guard over the Constitution and its basic principles.

Doubts have been expressed over whether committee members should be elected for terms of 10 years.

I think we should ensure the maximum immunity of the committee members from any influence and the long terms for which they will be elected will provide an extra guarantee in this respect.

Comrades suggesting that the committee should not limit itself to analyzing the constitutionality of newly drafted laws appear to be right.

It can also initiate the drafting and adoption of laws whose absence prevents the realization of constitutional requirements.

One may say, comrades, that our own, socialist system of "checks and balances" is taking shape in this country, designed to protect society against any violations of socialist legality at the highest state level.

IV.

Comrade deputies.

It was noted at the 19th CPSU conference that much in the structure and the organization of work of the supreme body of power in the USSR is also acceptable for the supreme bodies of power in the republics and will facilitate the enhancement of their role and authority

We have a uniform system of soviets. This uniformity has been established historically, it creates necessary political and organizational prerequisites for a smooth operation of the entire state mechanism of our federation.

A specific solution of issues of the setup of the top republican bodies of power should make up, as already mentioned, the main content of the next, second stage of the political reform.

But because serious objections were expressed in the discussion on individual clauses setting out the powers of the union bodies, we are now obliged to define our stand on this issue.

A view was expressed that the draft law on changes and amendments to the constitution contains a tendency towards excessive centralization and thus departed from the political directives of the 19th party conference. I should say that this is an obvious misunderstanding.

I think that it is clear to us all now that the question of the correlation of the union and the republics should be handled within the context of restructuring, within the framework of the democratization of our society.

The rational allocation of powers between the union and republican bodies of power is a major condition for the strength of our multinational state and, speaking in broader terms, of the entire development of Soviet socialist society.

The unification of their efforts for universal interests holds great opportunities for our growth and the enhanced well-being of all peoples of the country.

Therefore all republics are vitally interested in a powerful center capable of ensuring the solution of national tasks.

One should state with equal certainty that the strength of the union must rely on the strength of its constituent republics as sovereign socialist states, on their independence, initiative and active participation in common affairs.

The success of each republic is the most important prerequisite for the success of our entire federal state.

This means that for us, as emphasized at the party conference, it is important to alter the status of the union republics with due account for the new tasks, enshrine their rights in the USSR Constitution and guarantee these rights in real way.

The amendments to the Constitution were formed exactly along these lines.

Obviously, and we know that now, some provisions in the draft laws were formulated imprecisely and provoked quite a few critical remarks in the course of discussion.

After studying them thoroughly at the commissions for legislative proposals of the USSR Supreme Soviet it was found necessary to take into account a number of remarks and introduce rather substantial changes to the draft amendments to the Constitution.

They are related to the specification of the provisions viewed as limiting the rights of the union republics in matters of legislation, determination of the setup and main directions in the activity of the republic bodies, their competence in the field of socioeconomic and cultural development.

Also, adopted were the proposals that the Committee for Constitutional Supervision include representatives of all union republics, and some other amendments. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at its session on 26 November this year backed these changes. All that was approved at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The entire range of issues connected with the status of the republics and the expansion of their rights and opportunities are expected, as is known, to be examined at a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on issues of interethnic relations.

The recent adopted Central Committee resolution on this issue envisages thorough preparatory work with the participation of union and republic party and state bodies, scientists, experts and members of the general public.

In preparing for the plenum not a single issue raised in the discussion of the draft laws we are now considering should be omitted. This I would like to emphasize, comrades.

Our people of all nationalities, the population of all republics should have full confidence that the problems that worry them, no matter whether they are related to economic, political and legal or cultural requirements of the present time or are related to uncertainties and "blank spaces" in the historical past, I repeat, all these problems should find a fair solution within the framework of restructuring through methods of democratic discussion and the elaboration of coordinated common positions.

It is especially important to find an optimal correlation of the competence of the USSR and the individual union republics in the economic sphere. This task is difficult and is diverse in character.

A single national economic complex has been established in our country. The requirements of all republics for raw material and fuel, machines and instruments, food and consumer goods are met within its framework.

Everything in the Soviet economy is so interrelated, so interdependent that the stopping of one or two enterprises leads to a whole chain of disruptions in production and causes huge losses to the entire national economy. It harms the country and the interests of all its peoples.

The question of introducing republican cost-accountancy should be handled with consideration for all that. Many proposals put forward in this connection are undeniable, they fit into the overall concept of radical economic reform. This is related, by the way, not only to republics, but also to territories, regions and other territorial entities.

At the same time, one cannot agree to the suggestions to give up the uniformity of the legislative regulation of relations of ownership, the budgetary financial system and some other key issues of the life of our society.

And I repeat that sentiments and wishes in favor of extending the rights of the republics in the economic field are quite justified and legitimate. Such a task has long been ripe.

It fully accords with the concept of restructuring. We have already repeatedly and most resolutely condemned overcentralism which used to paralyze local initiative.

It was absurd when the staff of Moscow offices used to decide on specific matters connected with the state of affairs in the republics which, as quite often was the case, they had not even visited.

But one should not go to the opposite extreme. Common legislative grounds are needed to ensure republican and local cost accounting. It is necessary that union and republican bodies take, at least, an identical view of cost accounting.

Only in that case will cost accounting rely on a single system of settlements and create conditions and possibilities equal for all republics.

The same applies to environmental protection. The republics both have a right to and should independently tackle appropriate matters on their territories. But this sphere just cannot be left outside regulation by union bodies either.

And how can it be otherwise if ecological problems in our days call for a comprehensive solution, and not only within the framework of individual countries but also continents and even the world as a whole.

Countries now voluntarily delegate part of their rights to international organizations which on their behalf introduce rational norms of the utilization of natural resources.

In short, it is essential thoroughly to scrutinize all these matters. We are to do much to normalize the entire atmosphere of interethnic relations on the Leninist internationalist principles.

One should say that a good deal of other proposals deserving the closest attention were expressed during the discussion of the draft laws.

It was suggested, in particular, that we return to the practice of the first postrevolution years when national districts and rural councils existed in places inhabited mostly by national minorities. This is what we spoke of at the conference as well.

I believe that people in republics and regions will reflect on this issue and will express their considerations.

In general, comrade deputies, it would be aparently the right thing to instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the commissions for the legislative proposals of the chambers to set up a special working group consisting of deputies representing all union republics.

Such a group with the participation of specialists—economists, sociologists, and lawyers—could scrutinize point after point the entire history of the development of the powers of the union and of the republics, analyze the processes taking place in this sphere, and work out such a delimitation of competence of republics and the Soviet federation as a whole which would correspond to the utmost to the tasks of further development of the country and harmonization of interethnic relations in the conditions of the current restructuring of Soviet society. If you will support this, this decision can be made at the current session.

A cardinal renewal of the work of the local soviets is one of major tasks of the political reform that is now underway.

This is now in many respects the principal factor hampering the entire subsequent course of restructuring, since cost accounting of enterprises and satisfaction of the social needs of the working people are possible only with active support of local authorities.

In its turn, self-management at the level of work collectives is closely connected with teritorial self-government.

In short, everyone needs a strong local soviet, and allow me to use the expression, a well-off one. So far they will remain largely without adequate rights and, in many respects, poor. They are incapable of holding out against various departments, and have to exist on the meagre allocations provided as a result of residual planning of funds for local needs, after all other resources have been allocated. The revival of the sovereignty of the soviets presupposes the organization of the management of local affairs on the principles of self-government, self-financing, self-provision, and coordination of local with union interests.

Local bodies of power should be given a political impulse, should be encouraged to work independently with the firm realization that no one will tackle matters for them any longer.

One of the most important tasks of party organizations at the present stage of restructuring is in every way to help strengthen the independence of the local councils. The wisdom of political guidance is to enlist the efforts of all forces of society for active work, to rely on their initiative and independence, and to act not by decree but through the prestige of the right policy and methods of persuasion. The party committees are beginning to master these skills.

I want to emphasize once again what was spoken of at the 19th CPSU conference. The restoration of the sovereignty of the soviets by no means signifies the party's retreat from its place in the political system of socialism.

The party has come forward with the idea of restructuring, is now the motive force of renewal, and is itself being renewed on Leninist principles.

Only the party with its prestige and possibilities can perform the unifying role and integrate diverse and at times contradictory social interests into a single policy.

Only the party which has regained the character of the progressive revolutionary force and which continuously reaffirms its right to be in the vanguard of society can ensure our country's progress.

A clear-cut separation of functions of the party and local government bodies is essential precisely for both the party and the councils to be able to effectively perform their role in the political system. Work in this direction has been started.

Over the comparatively short period of time that has passed since the conference, measures have been elaborated and began to be implemented to stop the duplication of state functions by party bodies, to reorganize the apparatus and to switch the main attention of party organizations at all levels over to the discharge of the functions of political guidance. The implementation of these measures has started.

The enhancement of the role of the local councils also presupposes a considerable improvement of the work of the executive committees. It is with good reason that we came forward with the demand for an end to the diktat of the apparatus and its absolute subordination to people's representatives.

But this, of course, does not mean that specialists who work in the departments of the executive committee should play the role of passive and indifferent performers of missions. Not at all.

An efficient local council is interested in ensuring that well-selected, qualified people with initiative effectively help it implement decisions.

A task which is central to the strengthening of the power of the soviets is to create a solid material-and-financial basis, to release their economic energies, and to raise their responsibility for providing all essentials.

It is necessary to get out of the vicious circle where attempts are made to resolve the problem of financial provision of the council through a mechanical redistribution of funds between various budgets.

This, experience has demonstrated, can lead to nothing good and only worsens the already difficult financial position of the state.

A solution to the problem is only available on an economic basis. It appears essential to turn over to the soviets administrative power over enterprises specializing in products and services for the local market, agro-industrial facilities, housing and municipal economy, and other sectors of the social sphere and over enterprises providing the general economic prerequisites for local development.

The transition to territorial self-financing, the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing, and economically substantiated norms should be expedited. Economists think it possible to set rates of payment also for natural and manpower resources.

Many interesting proposals concerning the soviets' material and financial possibilities have been made in the course of debates on the bills presented to this session. All of these ideas need to be studied carefully and impartially.

I want to make special mention of the need to energetically clear the way to local self-administration as the totality of all forms of representative and direct democracy under the aegis of local governing councils.

Let referendums, assemblies and meetings be held whereby people will jointly resolve problems that worry them.

Mass movements and self-organized groups at grassroots level are already actively showing concern for children and the disabled, protecting nature and historical monuments and sprucing up their localities.

This is how millions of people are getting involved in the business of administration and self-management. And that is just what we need.

In short, we should start acting more boldly, without waiting for instructions and directives. But we also need a good law on local self-government and local economies.

It is currently being drawn up and should be considered by the very first session of the new USSR Supreme Soviet.

VI.

Comrades, it won't be an exaggeration to say that the USSR draft Law on Election of People's Deputies, which have been put before you, spells out a radical updating of our election system in the full meaning of the word.

Both the new law and the entire atmosphere of political life in the country today warrant the real exercise of the norms which have been officially proclaimed before but have often been ignored in practice.

The most important distinctive feature of the new election law is that it envisages multicandidate elections in constituencies returning one deputy each. A possibility of a real choice is thus being provided. The matter of overriding importance today is how it will be used to create a full-blooded corps of deputies capable of running the country at the time of restructuring.

Maximum use should be made of existing possibilities to give every voter knowledge of the candidates. Try as they will, they can't make sure that everybody will come to meet-the-candidate rallies.

So a big role is to be played here by radio, television and the press. And indeed can there by anything more revealing than public debates in which the candidates parry questions, put forth their views and, if you like, show their worth?

Many people taking part in the debates have come out for an amendment under which elections may only take place if there are at least two candidates per contested office.

Numerous others, however, have expressed themselves against limiting the right of voters to decide on the number of candidates themselves.

Considering this, the draft law has been clarified to say that the ballot can carry any number of candidates.

Understandably enough, there may arise complications. Every collective will be seeking to promote its own representatives and if procedures for regulating this process are not foreseen, we risk ending up having a muddle rather than a conscious choice.

This is why the draft calls for advance discussion of candidates at a constituency's pre-election meeting which will have the right to nominate candidates for registration with the corresponding electoral commission.

We shall aparently not be able to do without this in our election system.

The greatest diversity of opinions has been provoked by the draft's provision, included there in keeping with the decisions of the 19th conference, on the election of one-third of the people's deputies of the USSR from mass organizations.

Some people have hailed it with great enthusiasm, while others have expressed doubts and still others have even perceived it as a departure from the general democratic principles of the election system.

This is a matter of principle. The provision is a major innovation in our political life and it is very important that we accept it consciously, showing a high degree of public accord. I shall therefore dwell on it in greater detail.

It is imperative to take account of the fact that the representation of mass organizations in the bodies of power is inextricably linked with the revival of Lenin's traditions of the Soviet system in new conditions.

What was the main distinctive feature of that system, distinguishing it from all previous forms of state authority?

It consisted in direct and continuous contact with working people. The soviets and their congresses worked as broad-based popular assemblies rather than organs taking decisions on behalf of the people.

This feature has, alas, largely been lost. But the situation is changing dramatically thanks, on the one hand, to the restoration of the truly democratic nature of elections in territorial and national-territorial districts and, on the other, to complementary elections in mass organizations.

How does the latter measure help?

First, working people through their mass organizations will get yet another channel for directly influencing the bodies of state power. In other words, the unique trait of the Soviet system is being restored in new conditions and in a new way. After all, all these public organizations are part of the political system.

Second, the proposed innovation substantially enriches the traditional democratic forms that have struck root in our conditions rather than abolishing them.

Representation of public organizations opens up, so to speak, one more channel of people's power alongside representation of territorial and national communities. It provides an opportunity to take fuller account of the concrete interests, aspirations and requirements of all classes and social strata of our society. This, if you wish, represents socialist pluralism of views in action. An opportunity is being created for taking more fully into consideration the specific interests of numerous and most diverse groups.

And, thirdly, the new procedure can exert a favorable influence on pulbic organizations themselves, as they are links of the Soviet political system, to help them overcoming their passiveness. After all, getting the right to be represented on bodies of power, each of them will be bound to express clearly the interests of the people it unites, to put forward its political platform. The latter's discussion within the organization proper and in society as a whole will help bring out the existing shortcomings, to consolidate our ranks. New cadres will come to the fore in the course of the election campaign and the rank-and-file will grow more active.

In short, we can expect this to infuse fresh blood into the soviets, into the pulbic organizations themselves.

Now let us consider the doubts expressed during the discussion.

Some of the comrades who took part in the debate thought it unacceptable that part of the people would be represented only by deputies elected from territorial and national-territorial constituencies, while the interests of others, in addition to these deputies, would be upheld by deputies from public organizations, too. This argument holds no water.

Let us look into the matter soberly. The point is that public organizations embrace practically all the population of our country. They include the Communist Party with its almost 20 million members, the Lenin Komsomol with a membership of 36 million young people, the trade unions which include practically all factory and office workers, the cooperatives, that is our entire kolkhoz peasantry plus members of consumers', production and other cooperative societies now being set up, the women's councils upholding the interests of all Soviet women, the veterans' council representing more than 50 million pensioners and people of the older generation in general, the creative unions, rallying men of Soviet culture of all nationalities, unions of scientific workers, etc.

It is apparently easier to ask who remains outside these public organizations. Hence it is right to say that all Soviet citizens will be represented through them, just as through territorial and national-territorial constituencies, in bodies of power.

Furthermore, quite a number of those who took part in the discussion, while approving the very principle of the representation of public organizations, thought that the projected electoral prodcedure was undemocratic. They hold that it should start directly in grassroot organizations or even electoral districts, otherwise the entire procedure would be bureaucratized and reduced merely to an appointment of deputies from among leaders of this or that public organization. I wish to note that similar apprehensions were expressed at the early stages of work on the draft laws. This is precisely why the proposal to nominate candidates and hold elections at the very same meetings of congresses, conferences or plenums of public organizations was turned down. In this case it would be impossible, indeed, to guarantee a thorough discussion of the candidatures, not only by members of these public organizations but primarily in society.

One more point was made clear in the discussion and was introduced into the draft law, namely that in moninating candidates the all-union bodies should take due account of the proposals made by local bodies, grassroot collectives and the membership of the public organizations in question.

It should be borne in mind that the nomination of candidates will be followed by a sufficiently long public discussion, lasting, let us say, one or two months.

Not only members of a given organization, but other citizens too, will be able to express their views in the course of the debate. And only after all that will the deputies be elected by secret ballot at the organization's congress or regular plenum.

In short, everything will be kept in public eye. This means that the possibility of electing persons lacking sufficient popular support will be reduced to the minimum.

These are the arguments in favor of the proposed representation of public organizations in bodies of power. Its acceptance will, it appears, signify a serious breakthrough to a new qualitative level of socialist democracy.

This business is quite unusual for us, of course. It has no equal in world practice as regards its scope and character. Let's exchange views on this score once again at this session, bearing in mind that practical experience is bound to necessitate certain amendments to the electoral procedure.

The new legislation must prove its worth in practice. If we see that it needs amendment, this will be done right away, of course. The important thing is to start the ball rolling today.

Some participants in the discussion have expressed fears that deputies elected from public organizations might uphold only the narrow, or corporate, interests of their own organizations.

In this case any deputy can be found wanting, because he must express the will of those who elected him to the body of authority.

In other words, representing well-defined groups of the population and defending their specific requirements is quite natural and legitimate. Without this the representative system would lose any sense.

But this is only one side of the matter. The other, no less important, is that each deputy takes part in solving matters of national significance and, consequently, bears responsibility not so much before his or her electors as before the people at large.

No matter what he represents—a republic, trade union, territorial district or a creative union—he is a people's deputy and he acts in the body of authority not simply as a worker, farmer or scientist but first and foremost as a politician.

The names of a number of prominent Soviet writers and scientists who raised the alarm to draw public attention to the need for urgent measures to save Baykal are well known in our country and the whole world.

Let us suppose that the relevant organizations decide to elect them as people's deputies. Will these people reduce their activity to defending the narrow professional interests of the writers' clan or the Academy of Sciences? Of course not.

The true patriot always lives by the concern of the entire fatherland. The task of a politician, who enjoys people's trust, consists, primarily, in the ability to organically link the interests of his electorate with the needs of all people, with the tasks of developing society at large, on whose solution the well-being of each of us depends in the final analysis.

Every new day of restructuring brings forward such people from every of society.

And we hope that the new bodies of authority will bring forward the best representatives of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia of the country.

We are facing one of the most difficult, but also the most important, election campaigns in the entire history of Soviet power, when practically all processes will be held on a new basis: nomination of candidates, their discussion, comparison of positions and the final stage of elections—voting.

The utmost wisdom and responsibility must be shown then. The future of the country depends to a large extent on what the first composition of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR will be and who comes to the new Supreme Soviet.

VII.

Comrade deputies, it has fallen to the lot of the current session of the Supreme Soviet to initiate legal reform.

It presupposes a series of radical changes which must cover the entire law enforcement mechanism of our state, the work of the court, procurator's office, the legal profession, arbitration, militia and correctional labor institutions.

In accordance with the decisions of the 19th CPSU conference this great amount of work must be mainly completed next year, with the understanding, of course, that the reform will not be reduced to merely changing structures, to establishing new functions and mode of activities of this or that body, but will require the accumulation of experience of working in a new way, that is, will need a more prolonged period of time.

The point at issue today is the solution of the problem which has key significance for the legal system. Indeed, the main instrument of enforcing law and order is the court.

The fates of people, defense of their interests, maintenance of relations between the state and citizen defined by the law and the observance of public order greatly depend on it.

Therefore, ensuring the independence and inviolability of judges, the possibility to administer justice objectively and without bias are of overwhelming importance.

It is this problem that is addressed in the amendments to the three articles of the Constitution dealing with the legal system.

The independence of the court is largely determined by the way it is formed. The draft that was published envisaged the courts in districts, cities, areas, regions and territories being elected by the corresponding soviets of people's deputies.

To be frank, this caused much debate, The adopted decision was motivated by the fact that the judges will be elected not by the former soviets but new representative bodies formed as a result of the restructuring of the political system.

However in the course of the nationwide discussion such a procedure did not find support. The majority favored a return to what was envisaged by the 19th CPSU conference—election of people's judges by the higher soviets.

This is further proof of how determined our people are that no more interference by local authorities in the judges' work will be allowed in future. A relevant change has been made to the draft law handed to the deputies.

It should be stressed that whereas the judges will be elected by the higher governing councils, the assessors serving on district or city courts will, as before, be elected by people at meetings in their neighborhoods or places of employment by a show of hands.

Elections to the peoples' courts will thus be based on two principles: while the assessors will be elected directly by the population, the judges will be elected by representative bodies of power. This combination is reasonable and will give our courts added authority in the eyes of our citizens.

Increasing the judges' terms of office from five to ten years and those of the people's assessors to five years will also help to protect their independence.

While making arrangements for the most favorable possible conditions for administering justice, the draft law stipulates at the same time that the judges and people's assessors will be accountable to those who have elected them—the voters and the soviets.

This, too, is important. Although the judges obey only the law, their work should not be outside democratic control which, naturally, should not mean intervention in particular legal cases.

Following the adoption of constitutional amendments regarding judiciary, it will be necessary to endorse new fundamentals of union and republican legislation on the judicial system in the USSR, a law on the status of judges and other acts which will provide the basis for radically reorganizing the work of all agencies which should protect laws, our democratic principles and institutions, and the freedoms and rights of individuals.

We believe that our movement to a law-governed state should be accompanied by a cardinal updating of all basic branches of legislation.

The law as an act of supreme state authority should become the bedrock of the legal order and edge out administrative ordinances, in particular departmental norm-setting decrees.

The enactment of laws on the rights of trade unions, on young people, on voluntary societies and associations, on the press and other mass media, and on glasnost in the activities of state agencies and mass organizations will help promote popular self-government and upgrade the political system.

The need to enhance guarantees for personal rights calls for updating civil, labor, housing and pension legislation and adopting laws on freedom of conscience, on procedures for dealing with suggestions, requests and complaints from citizens, and others.

I would like to call your attention to another essential point concerning legal reform. Who should translate it into reality? In principle, it is, of course, a common cause but it is understandable that special responsibility belongs to those who are in the legal profession.

Hence the need to seriously improve the training of legal personnel. Lawyers are needed by the governing councils, ministries, enterprises, institutions and cooperatives, to say nothing of law-enforcement agencies.

But creation of a rule-of-law state cannot be a task for state agencies and public institutions alone. It cannot be achieved without active participation by all people, without increasing the legal and political awareness of all society.

The direct involvement of Soviet people in the political process and their active participation in running the society are the main factor in this respect.

Comrade deputies,

The draft laws were considered at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee yesterday with due account for the nationwide discussion. The Central Committee believes that on the whole they meet the tasks of the reform of the political system chartered by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Three and a half years ago the party embarked on a course to renew Soviet society. The great intellectual work carried out since that time by the party and the people has made it possible to realize more profoundly both our goals and the means to attain them.

In embarking upon restructuring, we have concentrated attention primarily on economic tasks. They still hold a preeminent position in the work of all party and state bodies.

It is necessary to do everything possible to resolve the food problem within the shortest possible time and meet other vital requirements of the Soviet people more quickly.

A radical transformation of the entire system of running and managing the economy is a way to achieve this.

Let me repeat what I said at the beginning of the report: The key to the solution of economic and all other tasks of social development is in democratizing all state and public life and creating every opportunity for the initiative, self-activity and creativity of the people.

By advancing the goal of combining socialism with democracy and on this basis tapping the entire potential of our social system, we have no right to forget even for one minute that socialist democracy, like any democracy, has nothing in common with lack of discipline, egoism and anarchy.

On the contrary, freeing people of excessive control, providing them with all opportunities for free self-expression in production and creative work, for active participation in tackling public affairs calls for enhanced personal responsibility of each and everyone for the situation in the country, for its present and future.

It is in conditions of democracy that contempt of the law and disregard for the interests and rights of other citizens are least permissible.

Restructuring, democratization and glasnost are inseparable from the consolidation of state and public discipline and the resolute struggle against all negative phenomena that make themselves felt in our life.

A few words about the international aspect of political reform.

The 19th party conference stated, not merely theoretically, but on the basis of the real processes of recent times, the objective link of our international policy with the character of domestic changes in the USSR, with our restructuring. To be more precise, with the democratization of Soviet society.

At the conference, we agreed to set up, within the framework of the reform of the political system, an efficient constitutionally empowered mechanism of businesslike and skillful discussion of international issues.

The structure of state authority which we are now discussing creates reliable guarantees that the interests of the people and their will for peace will be contained on a stable basis in everything linked with our international activity.

The deepening of the political process and the shaping of a socialist state committed to the rule of law mean greater people's control over all spheres of politics and, consequently, ensure greater consistency in foreign policy on the basis of new thinking .

The steady progress of our political reform, the major element of which will be the decisions of the current session and then the Congress of People's Deputies, creates a new, democratic Soviet Union, already now recognized as a major moral and political factor contributing to improving international relations.

Such is the foreign policy aspect of the work, comrade deputies, that we are doing. Such are the prospects of our common responsibility for the democratic consolidation of our great multinational state.

Let me, comrade deputies, express confidence that the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will approve the draft laws submitted for its consideration, which have taken into account the results of the nationwide discussion, and thus make a major step towards developing socialist democracy in this country.

Deputies Debate Draft Laws

LD2911135188 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's report at the special session of the Soviet parliament, which opened here today, was followed by a debate.

While generally approving of the basic concept of the bills, deputies took issue with some points and made specific suggestions of their own.

Valentina Shevchenko, president of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, argued with claims, which could be heard in debates in the run-up to the session, that enacting the draft laws would be premature.

She said that those who made these claims were against the perestroyka reform drive. The moment was so crucial and the problems facing the nation were so acute that "any dilly-dallying could only do harm", she explained.

Shevchenko suggested that the first Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR form a special commission to prepare an updated version of the national Constitution.

Veniamin Yefremov, chief designed at a Moscow factory, expressed disagreement with a clause in the draft law on elections that would give mass organizations the right to elect deputies at their congresses and plenums.

He said that would be "incompatible with the general democratic principles of elections to governing councils since it would exempt part of the deputies from the voters' control" and would violate equal suffrage.

Yefremov proposed that mass organizations should only nominate candidates rather than being entitled to elect them.

The president of the Presidium of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, Suleiman Tatliyev, suggested that the Constitution be amended to guarantee the unconditional fulfilment by a lower soviet of the decisions of the higher one.

He backed up his argument by pointing, in particular, to the position held by authorities in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, who, he claimed, ignored the decisions of superior bodies that offered a real way out of dead-end interethnic conflict.

Another subject mentioned in the debate was regional economic independence. Leningrad worker Ivan Zhirnov proposed that a law on local self-government and local economies be drafted within the next two or three months.

His motion was supported by Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the Central Commitee of the Uzbekistan Communist Party.

While calling for greater economic independence for regions and republics, he warned at the same time against hasty, ill-considered decisions, pointing to Estonia as an example of this.

Several other deputies also spoke on the theme, describing the decisions of a recent session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet as an attempt to put the interests of one constituent republic before the interests of the Soviet Union as a whole.

They stressed the dangers of political extremism based on nationalism, which, the speakers said, must be decisively rebuffed.

Debate on Draft Laws Continues

LD2911181388 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The debate on Mikhail Gorbachev's report continued at the afternoon sitting of the Supreme Soviet session.

Speaking out generally in support of the bills designed to start political reform in the Soviet Union, deputies kept making suggestions to amend the draft laws, voicing doubts and sometimes concern about some points and expressing satisfaction with others.

Gennadiy Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, said that the bills should be enacted and that those who proposed postponing their adoption were wrong and agreeing with them would be a mistake.

Several mistakes had already been made after the 19th party conference, Kolbin noted. Society, in particular, had stayed for too long at the phase of rallies for democracy, while what was needed was action.

And democracy itself was sometimes misinterpreted, he continued, stressing that democracy necessarily meant order and discipline.

Zoya Pukhova, chairperson of the Soviet Women's Committee, said that Soviet women welcomed the principle of mass organizations being represented in the higher bodies of power, which was envisioned by the draft law on elections. She said that women's organizations would show a sense of responsibility in electing their representatives but they were worried about something else, namely that during an election experiment last year women had lost 10,000 seats on local governing councils.

"Wouldn't the new election system lead to a further reduction in women's representation levels at the soviets?" Pukhova asked.

While generally backing the bills, Aleksandr Fadeyev, chairman of a farming co-op in the Volga region, said he did not understand how representatives of mass organizations in the Russian Federation would be elected if there were no corresponding republican structures there.

Unlike all the other constituent repubics, Russia, he noted, did not have a Communist Party and a Young Communist League of its own.

"Wouldn't this lead to the country's biggest republic being discriminated against?" he asked. The president of the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, Vitautas Astrauskas, said that that Supreme Soviet had expressed itself against putting off debates on the political reform bills. But its deputies had objected to some of their provisions and it was good that many of those had already been altered as a result of the nationwide debates, he added. Astrauskas supported the idea of a commission to scrutinize the issue and prepare a proposal on the status of a union republic. That status should be raised, he said, to give republican agencies more power on their territories.

"I shall vote for the bills despite the fact that the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of one of the union republics has come out against them," said Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the national Young Communist League, the largest youth organization in the USSR. Those dismissing well-considered

and serious proposals out of hand were just as intolerant of others' opinions as those figures of the past that were now sharply and justly criticized, he said.

Mironenko suggested that the USSR Supreme Soviet in the future set up a committee on youth affairs, which would be concerned with drafting laws regarding young people.

The debate is continuing.

Session Ends 1st Day of Work

LD2911195188 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) opened a special session in the Kremlin today. The deputies (?are to) decide on the future of two major draft laws concerning to the federal Constitution and elections of people's deputies.

Presenting the documents to the session, Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said in his report that it would be impossible to deepen perestroyka, or restructuring, "without democratising all our life, without reviving soviets (councils) as representative bodies of power and self-government of the people." The draft laws were directed at achieving precisely that.

Debates started after the report. Approving on the whole the concept contained in the drafts, deputies kept making suggestions to amend the draft laws.

Valentina Shevchenko, president of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, (?did) not agree with those participants in the pre-session discussion of the draft laws who think their adoption would be untimely.

In her opinion, such a stand is held by people opposing perestroyka.

Deputy Veniamin Yefremov, general designer from a Moscow Amalgamation, expressed his disagreement with a provision of the draft law on elections of people's deputies of the USSR, which gives public organisations the right to elect people's deputies at their congresses and plenary meetings.

He said such an approach "(?is) incompatible with general democratic principles of forming soviets since it takes a certain part of deputies out of electors' control and violates equal suffrage".

Yefremov believes public organisations should only nominate candidates to deputies, rather than elect deputies.

Deputies from Leningrad, Latvia, Uzbekistan and Lithuania discussed regional economic independence.

Deputies discussed the decision by the parliament of Soviet Estonia, passed on November 15.

Many of them regarded the decision as an attempt to put the interests of one republic above the interests of the whole of the union.

Speakers emphasised the danger of political nationalist extremism which, in their opinion, must be resolutely rebuffed.

Tomorrow the session will continue its work.

Latvia's Gorbunov Address

LD2911202488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Report on speech by Anatoliy Valeriyanovich Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] The assertion of self-administration principles in the Soviet electoral system will be served by many provisions of the draft laws under discussion today: the election of a people's deputy in all cases from among several candidates; the incompatibility of the status of a deputy with certain leading positions in other organs; the ban on officials elected or appointed by the soviet of people's deputies occupying their posts for more than two terms in succession; and others. However, individual provisions in both draft laws do not correspond with the task of unfolding socialist self-administration of the people.

Yes, it is essential to utilize the very rich experience of our public organizations in the activity of the supreme representative body, and it seems to me most correct, as was emphasized here, to reflect the specific interests of their members. The whole issue is how this can best be achieved. I think one must proceed from three democratic electoral principles that have been fixed in the current Soviet Constitution: universal, equal, and direct suffrage. Our electors are setting us the question: Does the nomination and election of deputies from public organizations at plenums of their central bodies really correspond to these principles? Of course not.

Regrettably, we did not hear a clear answer from the leaders of the all-union bodies of public organizations on how they intend to act so that the nomination of candidates and the election of deputies is achieved in a democratic manner. Today, for the first time, we heard an approximate scheme of things in the report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. A genuine choice is possible only when electors have at least a general idea of the platform and personal qualities of a candidate for a deputy's seat. How will a citizen who is just passing through a given place and who is voting at a polling station at a station or airport, make his decision when giving preference to one candidate or another? We propose getting rid of voting warrants altogether.

Now to the representation of the union republics. There has been mention here of that already. We know that the smallest republics, such as ours, will be represented by 11 deputies in the Soviet of Nationalities, but how will the union republics be represented in the Soviet of the Union? There is nothing at all said about this in the draft. This evokes bewilderment. It is necessary, then, directly and unambiguously to write into the draft law on changes to the USSR Constitution: The representation of a union republic in the Soviet of the Union is proportional to the population of the republic.

Comrade deputies, the transition from theoretical analysis to the practical stage of restructuring is complex and responsible. In the republic, this process is occurring in a difficult political situation. Our economic and social problems frequently are growing, unfortunately, into interethnic ones, but we also understand another thing: The interests of the republic ought to be in community with the interests of the union. All that is not favorable to the strengthening of the union is not favorable for individual republics, either.

Lithuania's Astrauskas Address

LD2911205988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Speech by Vytautas Stasevich Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] All strata of the population of Soviet Lithuania received the directives of the 19th party conference with sincere interest. They are expressing themselves clearly in favor of accelerating and deepening restructuring. The working people of Lithuania tie the process of restructuring, which is not easy at times, to the embodiment of the ideas of people's power, the sovereignty of the republic, the creation of a rule-of-law state, and a return to the Leninist principles of the Soviet federation.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report at today's session and the measures he projected for the following stages inspire confidence that the reform of the political system will guarantee conditions for the further free development of each nation and ethnic group, will consolidate their friendship and cooperation based on equal rights, and will strengthen the USSR. We support Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's proposal on establishing a working group to study and prepare the status of the union republic [as heard]. Reform of the political system must be comprehensive in character and must be implemented in conjuction with restructuring in the economy. The real situation that has taken shape in the economy and in social development requires qualitatively new solutions.

The essentially administrative system of management has led to an uneven development of the republic's productive forces. Not infrequently and without consideration for the real possibilities of the republic, willful decisions are made at the center which virtually impose the expansion of production capacities that are large already. In order to solve these and other vitally important problems, it is necessary to enhance the status of the union republics and to transfer the real power in management of social and economic development. Without the transfer of the solution of many issues to the regions, without the fullness of power for the soviets and a demarcation of the functions of party and state bodies, and without the genuine independence of labor collectives, one cannot hope for a deepening of restructuring. These fundamental aspirations are being checked thoroughly and, I would say, scrupulously against the draft laws on amendments and additions to the country's Constitution and on elections of USSR people's deputies.

People now react particularly sensitively and keenly to any attempt to limit their independence, initiative, and enterprise. They have grown tired of living according to commands from above which for decades fettered self-government and led to social apathy and indifference. At first the drafts of these laws were given a guarded or openly critical reception in the republic. We are fully aware that without the first stage of political reform, subsequent steps in this direction cannot be taken. Therefore, the session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet approved the provision in the draft laws aimed at democratizing the electoral process and at forming the supreme organs of state power. At the same time, the deputies expressed disagreement with those provisions in the initial draft law on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution which consolidate the centralization of power and limit the republic's sovereignty. It is good that many of those provisions now have been excluded from the draft laws submitted for examination at the present session. Hard and responsible work awaits us ahead, and the fate of our restructuring will depend on how successfully we cope with it.

Medvedev, Lukyanov News Conference

LD2911191888 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The Plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that opened today signal that work has forged ahead at full tilt to reshape the state system in keeping with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said at a news conference today.

The adoption of the laws on changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution and on the election of people's deputies is the first phase in re-organising bodies of state authority, at which questions of the structure of top bodies of state authority and their election are predominantly tackled.

The discussion of the draft laws on changes and amendments to the country's Constitution and election of people's deputies of the USSR was unprecedented in its scope, said Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo and first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet received 302,000 responses to the drafts from Soviet people. Their key note is the understanding of the need for modifications in the political system, support of the constitutional concept which underlied the drafts.

The principal changes in the election law aim at making the procedure for the nomination of candidates more democratic, to give an opportunity to candidates to people's deputies to present a programme of their future activity, Lukyanov said, responding a newsman's question. Numerous proposals by citizens for the need to "ensure not only contested elections but also the representation of public organisations" were also realized.

Speaking about his impressions of his recent trip to Latvia, Medvedev said that this republic has seen a great invigorations of public movements and the activity of the intelligentsia, youth and society as a whole lately. This is undoubtedly linked with the general atmosphere of democratization and openness. The increase in socio-political activity can only be welcomed if in all cases it would benefit the matter. But against the general backdrop of positive processes in the development of the republic there appeared unhealthy, undesirable and, in some cases, extremist manifestations.

The decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR "were actually made spontaneously, under the influence of those public sentiments and emotions which for some period of time took the upper hand in the republic", Medvedev said. They were not the subject of a serious, in-depth professional discussion, "therefore, as for myself, I am not inclined to believe that they are an adequate reflection of the public opinion of that republic's population".

Medvedev said that he was against the publication of such Solzhenitsyn's works as the Gulag Archipelago and Lenin in Zurich on the grounds that "the stance is expressed and developed in these works, which is in conflict with our socio-political structure, our world outlook, and our attitude to Soviet history and Lenin". "We do not have any signs that Solzhenitsyn's anti-social and anti-socialist position has undergone any evolution", he furthermore stressed.

Journalists were told that Usmankhodzhayev, who was dropped from the CPSU Central Committee, and Dzhabarov and Salimov, who were relieved of their duties as alternate members of the CPSU Central Committee, accepted, as the investigation of the USSR Procurator's Office showed, huge sums of money in payoffs from underlings and persons who depended on them. They have been in custody since late October.

Discuss Plenum, Session

LD2911152388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] A news conference was held today on the outcome of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the first sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. The press conference was conducted by Comrade Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and Comrade Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Describing the work of the plenum, Comrade Medvedev said, in part:

[Begin recording] [Medvedev] Yesterday's Central Committee plenum and today's session of the Supreme Soviet mark the start of broad development of work to restructure the state system in line with the decisions of the 19th party conference. On the nature of the plenum's work, there was an open, hard-hitting, and frank conversation. The report delivered at the plenum by Comrade Gorbachev was delivered at the session today in a more developed form and taking account of the nature of the Supreme Soviet session. As I have already said, it will be published tomorrow. There were many interesting and important considerations voiced in the course of the speeches, including on the need for work on drafting a new USSR constitution generally to be speeded up, and on the need for the social and political consequences of the decisions being made to be forecast. In touching on the topic of relations between the nationalities, many of the speakers advocated greater independence for the republics—union and autonomous alike—but within the framework of a unified union state. One speaker, Comrade Mendybayev from Kazakhstan, said: We are in favor of a union of republics but not a union of states. That is our formula.

Questions of work with young people were touched on, as was the question of speeding up the preparation of a law on young people. There was a suggestion that a special plenum of the party Central Comittee on work among young people be held. All the speakers endorsed the plenum's draft decision. They endorsed the positive and approbatory evaluation of the drafts of amendments and changes to the Constitution and of the new electoral law, with account being taken of those additional studies which have been carried out at this time and about which Comrade Lukyanov will speak.

On the whole an atmosphere of open, committed discussion of the most acute contemporary problems prevailed at the plenum. At the focus of attention were matters relating to the activity of the party itself. It was stressed that the party can only lead restructuring when it is ready for new forms of work under the conditions of a pluralism of opinions, glasnost, and democracy. The main task currently lies in the further deepening of restructuring and its protection, protection both from conservative forces and tendencies and from irresponsible extremism

and demagogy. Great concern was expressed over the exacerbation of the situation in Transcaucasia, in Azerbaijan and in Armenia, as was the need for purposeful work to normalize the situation there.

In conclusion it was noted that the draft laws submitted for discussion were in accordance with the principle instructions of the 19th party conference, although it is clear that the critical remarks and proposals, including those stemming from Estonia and our other republics, are not being swept aside. The decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Saturday, 26 November was endorsed. The plenum expressed confidence that answers would be found to all questions within the framework of restructuring, on the basis of the harmonization of the interests of various sections of our society, of all of the peoples and nations of our country, all of our republics.

The plenum decision on measures for implementing political reform in state construction was adopted unanimously. The plenum discussed—listened to the report by Comrade Ryzhkov on the progress of work on the concept of the economic and social development of the USSR for the period up to 2005. This question was examined as an item of information which has been taken note of, and the government has been entrusted with continuing work on the concept of the economic and social development of the USSR until 2005. It is intended, in view of the great importance of this question, to submit it subsequently for examination and discussion at the first congress of people's deputies formed in accordance with the draft laws now under discussion.

The membership of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee for the basic directions of party work has been examined and confirmed.

An organizational question has also been examined. Membership in the Central Committee has been removed from Usmankhodzhayev, and Dzabbarov and Salimov have been removed as candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee. Usmankhodzhayev is former first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; Salimov is former chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of that republic; and Dzhabbarov is former first secretary of the Bukhara Obkom of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. Investigations conducted by the USSR Procuracy have established that in using their official positions for selfish aims, Usmankhodzhayev, Salimov, and Dzhabbarov received over a number of years large amounts of bribes from their subordinates and persons depending on them.

At the end of October Usmankhodzhayev, Salimov, and Dzhabbarov were taken into custody, and on 29 October they were charged with taking bribes. The course of the investigation confirms the objectivity and correctness of the charges against them.

Speaking of the results of the Central Committee plenum as a whole, I would like to stress that yet again the adherence of our party and its Central Committee to the line of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference was confirmed. Restructuring is alive, it is gaining force, and it is entering a new stage for the solution of new tasks. The work of the session of the Supreme Soviet which is starting today is also closely connected with the plenum, and Comrade Lukyanov will speak about this.

[Lukyanov] It must be said that the USSR Supreme Soviet session itself represents, as it were, a concluding stage of a great deal of work—very concentrated work—concerning the discussion by the working people, citizens of the Soviet Union, public organizations, and deputies of the draft laws on changes to the USSR Constitution and the draft law on the elections of the USSR's people's deputies. In itself this discussion is—I will put it bluntly—unprecedented.

The point is that if you compare the discussion of these amendments to the Constitution with the discussion of the 1977 Draft Constitution, at that time approximately 400,000 proposals and observations concerning specific amendments to be introduced to the Constitution were sent to the constitutional commission over a period of 4 months, whereas now, over just 5 weeks we in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have received 302,000 proposals and observations from citizens concerning the draft laws.

The proposals are extremely varied. It must be said that, as distinct from the preceding discussions, its course was very informal. Extremely diverse proposals were submitted, including radical ones and ones containing a completely negative appraisal of the amendments. Of the 300,000 proposals approximately 7,500 contained negative opinions. This is natural; a democratic process of discussing the draft laws is under way, democracy is developing, glasnost and pluralism of views are developing; and we see in this, on the whole, the support of the masses for the decisions made on the 19th party conference and for what has been incorporated in the draft laws.

Actually, if one is to speak outright and be precise, the point revolves round the fact that these draft laws represent merely the legal embodiment of the decisions of the 19th party conference, of the main guidelines elaborated by this conference concerning the development of political reform in our country.

What is the theme of the proposals that have been submitted to us? To put it briefly, it is the universal understanding of the necessity of changes in our political system; it is support for the constitutional concept inherent in the draft laws put forward for nationwide discussion. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stated this very precisely in his report today.

Mikhail Sergeyevich said that the nationwide discussion on the draft laws made it possible to submit, to propose to the Supreme Soviet that it should change 26 of the 55 articles of the draft law on changes to the Constitution and 32 of the 62 articles in the draft law on the election of people's deputies of the USSR. Thus virtually half of all the provisions are being changed because of the proposals submitted by citizens. I think this is real democracy, real pluralism of views in action, in practice.

I cannot tell you at this time about the final formulations that will be adopted by law. That is a matter for the supreme body of authority. Everything will be discussed in the most careful manner. For the time being the deputies have received the proposed amendments to these legislative acts on behalf of the Legislative Proposals Commissions and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. These are proposals that are supported by commissions, the Presidium, and our party Central Committee. The process and the discussion will continue, and we hope that the USSR Supreme Soviet session will adopt these major documents in accordance with the amendments, which will mean the start of political reform, the start of a great deal of work with many sides and many stages which we are to carry out. [end recording]

Answer Journalists' Questions

LD3011015288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2035 GMT 29 Nov 88

["Report" on news conference held by Vadim Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and Anatoliy Lukyanov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium first deputy chairman, in Moscow on 29 November on the CPSU Central Committee Plenum results and the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Video shows the auditorium at the Foreign Ministry Press Center; the platform, including Medvedev, Lukyanov, and Gerasimov; journalists in the auditorium]

[Begin Medvedev recording] It seems to me that the significance of the plenum and the session can be understood if we take the decisions of the 19th party conference as the point of reference. The conference, as you know, elaborated and adopted a concept for a radical restructuring of our society's political system. [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Medvedev recalled that soon after the conference a CPSU Central Committee commission on restructuring the political system was set up. Its members included authoritative political figures, scientists, and representatives of the union republics. Proposals on restructuring the party apparatus were prepared. At the end of September a Central Committee plenum examined and approved these proposals. Comrade Medvedev emphasized that Central Committee commissions on the principal directions of party work were established. Yesterday the commission members were approved by the Central Committee plenum. A reorganization of local party bodies is also in progress. The Supreme Soviet has become actively involved in activity to restructure the political system. In the second half of October draft laws on amendments and addenda to the Constitution and on elections of people's deputies were published for broad public discussion. Now the results of this discussion are being summed up. [passage omitted]

Next Comrade Medvedev talked about Comrade Ryzhkov's report at the plenum and the work on a concept for the USSR's economic and social development until the year 2005.

[Begin Medvedev recording] Two years of the 12th 5-Year Plan remain. We must begin to prepare for the 13th 5-Year Plan. However, preparation for the 13th 5-Year Plan can only be scientifically based and effective if we take into account prospects for development—of the more remote areas in the development of our country—and on the basis of a thoroughly prepared concept of economic and social development for the long-term period ahead. [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Medvedev noted that of the various alternatives for development, the one chosen is marked by the greatest social orientation. Issues related to the quickest possible attainment of social results have been given paramount importance. [passage omitted]

Comrade Lukyanov, having analyzed the substance of the amendments introduced to the draft laws, discussed the amendment strengthening the independence of judges. Now all people's judges will be elected by soviets at superior levels, and people's assessors directly by the population. These amendments are just the beginning of a forthcoming legal reform.

[Begin recording] [Lukyanov] The legal reform itself will require work on a very large scale in drawing up new draft laws, which are already being prepared. They will be submitted to the first sitting of the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet and cover a very wide range of social relations. These are laws on trade unions, young people, the press, glasnost in the work of state bodies and public organizations, voluntary societies, the basis of criminal legislation, the basis of procedural law, and legislation on pensions, labor, and so on. The scale of work ahead of us is very big.

[Gerasimov] Well, we have a lot of questions. Let us start with EL PAIS.

[EL PAIS correspondent, speaking in Russian] Six commissions have emerged in your country. By what criteria will the composition of these commissions be determined and what will their functions be? Will they replace the Secretariat?

[Medvedev] Included in the commissions—as I think you may have seen for yourselves if you have seen the lists published today—are members of the Central Committee, candidate members of the Central Committee, and members of the Central Auditing Commission who have acquired the most experience in one sphere or antoher of party activity.

I can speak about the Ideological Commission, which I have been instructed to administer. You will find among its members comrades who are in the Central Committee, those who are among the top workers in the mass media and the creative unions, first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics and party obkoms. Also included are representatives of our working class and the peasantry. The composition of the commission has been shaped in such a way as to take maximum account of the experience acquired by the comrades who are on the Central Committee and in order to ensure the possibility of a comprehensive, multifaceted discussion of all the problems which the commissions will have to deal with, from the point of view of professionals, from the point of view of party leaders at republican and oblast levels, and from the point of view of representatives of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia.

This principle has been followed in forming the other commissions, all the Central Committee commissions.

As far as the functions of the commissions are concerned, these are deliberative, consultative, and at the same time expert bodies of the party Central Committee and its Politburo. They will form working groups, depending on which questions need to be studied. They will attract specialists from the appropriate spheres. The commissions will not meet just for the sake of it; they will meet when necessary, but no less frequently than once every 3 months. These are, so to speak, the only official restrictions which have been stipulated here. Everything else will be worked out in practice.

[Unidentified questioner, speaking in Russian] As is known, a long period has been set aside for preparing a special plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on interethnic relations. How will this special plenum of the CPSU Central Committee be prepared?

[Medvedev] In actual fact, the Central Committee plenum on problems of interethnic relations is scheduled for the middle of next year. This can be explained in a number of ways, but probably most importantly because the problems of interethnic relations are so complex, deeply rooted, and diverse that you simply need time to study them closely, and even more so in order to find practical solutions because they concern the economy probably most of all. They also concern social relations, the spheres of culture, language, and ideology. Apart from the fact that they are complex, they are also very sensitive. This is an area where questions concern problems which are very sensitive for everyone concerned. So it is better that they are analyzed and tackled in an atmosphere of social tranquillity, in order to prevent, where possible, their being tackled under the influence of emotional outbursts.

But there are other reasons too. There is a certain sequence in the examination of questions by the party Central Committee. A Central Committee plenum has been planned to study the problems of developing agriculture and improving the country's food supplies. It will be held some time at the end of winter, in February I believe. This is also an extremely important and acute question for us.

Then there is the election of people's deputies and the Congress of People's Deputies in March-April and the formation of a new structure of state bodies. This also requires great effort, time, and work. But as you can see, summer and the middle of the year, when the holding of this plenum has been planned, are not that far away.

That is how I would answer this question of yours straight off, so to speak. We must not hurry here, nor should we dawdle or put things off. Rushing things will not help here either. Of course the preparation for the plenum will be carried out with the most active participation of representatives of the union autonomous republics on a broad, democratic basis.

[AL-MUSAWWAR correspondent, speaking in Russian] AL-MUSAWWAR magazine. You were talking in your introductory remarks about the necessity of protecting the state from conservative forces and trends. My question is this: What is the essence of these forces and what role will they play—precisely these forces—in the republics where the nationalities question has become acute?

[Medvedev] This question about conservative forces is a philosophical one. They are present in some of the moods and some of the pronouncements, including pronouncements alleging that it was somehow restructuring that caused the aggravation of relations between the nationalities; that people had been living for a long time and yet there had been no undesirable development of events in this regard—then restructuring came along and undesirable phenomena appeared in a number of republics.

I believe this is nothing more than a manifestation of a conservative appraisal of what is happening in our country. The fact of the matter is that it was not restructuring which caused the problems in interethnic relations. Restructuring—the atmosphere of glasnost and democratization—merely exposed the problems which have been coming to a head over a long period of time and have not been solved. It would be possible to cite other considerations in this regard, but I think we should bear in mind at all times the need to oppose two dangers which are emanating, on the one hand, from conservative forces, and on the other, from forces which

are intolerant, extremist, dogmatic, and demagogic; these appear to some degree or another at different times and acquire various specific forms.

[Lukyanov] If I may, I would like to add that the point at issue is this: The conservative forces, realizing that restructuring is breaking down their positions and smashing the positions of corruption and many other things, are trying to push us off the rails of restructuring on to nationalistic lines, and on to interethnic clashes. Therefore, this is two sides of the same coin, of one common phenomenon. We must understand this well. As they say, below the surface of interethnic conflict is an undisguised interest in leaving everything as it is. [end recording]

[Announcer] Replies were also given to other questions put by journalists.

Estonian Situation Queried

LD2911204588 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Report from Moscow by political observer Juri Hansen]

[Excerpts] A news conference was held this afternoon at the Foreign Ministry Press Center. Questions by Soviet and foreign journalists were answered by Comrades Medvedev and Lukyanov. [passage omitted]

The foreign journalists showed great interest in what is happening in the Baltic lands, and particularly in Estonia. The impression gained from the questions and conversations is, however, that this interest is greatly linked to a thirst for sensation, to a search for something extraordinary. As soon as they were given an opportunity to inquire, they asked instantly if it is correct that at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum [words indistinct] a party punishment for the leadership of Soviet Estonia. Let it at least be said that this kind of rumor was already spreading yesterday at lunch time, and like any kind of rumor, it immediately (?found) people who would believe it, the Estonian leadership. [passage omitted]

Without mentioning the Estonian SSR, Comrade Medvedev spoke about the resolution of a republic's supreme soviet which the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had to declare invalid. I cannot say if Estonia was not mentioned out of (?kindly) tact or if it was simply a case of not noticing. But I think that it pays to recall [words indistinct].

When we (?entered) the press center for the second time, the papers of all those entering were checked with the usual care. [Words indistinct] (?us), having only work passes, we were simply told: Ah, you are Estonian journalists? Go ahead. [preceding two sentences spoken in Russian] There was another check on entering the auditorium and everybody also had to go through [word indistinct] metal-detecting arch. Some surprise was registered that we wanted to enter the auditorium without accreditation cards. Once again we (?produced) our passes and stressed that we were from Estonia, and the door of the auditorium also opened to us. [passage omitted]

To end the subject, here is a question from the SUNDAY TIMES: Did the Estonian resolutions, regardless of whether they were right or wrong, correspond to the interests of the people? In the reply, the resolutions of our 16 November Supreme Soviet session were assessed as spontaneous. They were produced without thorough analysis, under the influence of many emotions and at a certain stage in the republic. Comrade Medvedev said he thought that it was not a case of adequate reflections by the Estonian population. [Words indistinct] and some of the deputies voted against.

The time to calm down has now arrived. Comrade Medvedev expressed hope that perhaps Estonia will now analyze what in fact happened, what the real problems are, and what was done under (?incitement) from some leaders of the People's Front. [passage omitted]

There is a peaceful mood for work in Moscow. We wish you the same also in the home republic, both for tomorrow and in the future.

TV Lists 30 Nov Participants

LD3011074388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0720 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] The extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation is continuing its work today in the Great Kremlin Palace. At 1000 am the third joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities began. Taking part in it are Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, and Baklanov. Deputies are discussing the matter of measures for implementing political reform in the field of state construction.

Estonia's Ryuytel Addresses Session

LD3011102388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0901 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Excerpts] The extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet continues its work in the Great Kremlin Hall today. [passage omitted]

The morning session was addressed by Deputies Prokofyev, first secretary of the Yakut Oblast Party Committee; (Danilchenko), secretary of the Leningradskiy rural soviet of Krasnodar Kray; Kazakov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Koptyuk, chairman of the Siberian section of the Academy of Sciences; (Katryan), brigade leader of operatives at the Kishenev 60 let Oktyabrya works; Masaliyev, first secretary of the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia; and Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR.

We shall allow our listeners to hear fragments of the speech by Comrade Ryuytel:

[Begin Ryuytel recording] Since the 19th party conference the idea of regional financial autonomy and self-financing has gradually begun to spread. There is nothing surprising about the fact that we have acquired our own vision, which may help us and other republics as well to deal with our economic difficulties and reach a modern level of production, which all of us need so badly.

We consider that the successful introduction of republican financial autonomy presupposes a certain independence in economic decisions and in the management of social life. It is probably now time to look at the question of abandoning the great dispersal of the economy over the spheres of activity of numerous all-union ministries and departments, in as much as it is necessary to raise the role of the council of ministers of the republic and of the soviets of workers deputies. Without this it will scarcely be possible to achieve flexibility in the management of the country's economy, taking into account the great variety of natural, economic, and human resources in the different regions.

When the draft laws of the USSR on changes and supplements to the Constitution of the USSR and the law on elections of people's deputies of the USSR were published, a lively discussion started in Estonia of the ideas contained therein on the reorganization of federal power, the first stage of political reform. More than 20,000 letters from labor collectives and public organizations, from movements and citizens, and from party and soviet bodies caused the calling of an extraordinary session of the republic's supreme soviet. The reaction to its decisions and its legislative initiative is well known to you from the session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I would only like to note that the documents adopted at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet were also conditioned by the situation that has recently arisen in our republic.

Comrades, the draft laws submitted for discussion by the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet have already had many corrections introduced into them, with which we agree. Before the adoption of the relevant laws, I would like to express the wish that no purely stereotyped directives remain in the final wording that do not take into account the specific aspects and demands of the republics and regions. [end recording]

This evening, after the end of the debate, a joint session of the legislative proposals commissions of both chambers is planned. It will sum up the results of the discussions at the session on the draft laws on elections and on changes and supplements to the Constitution.

Ends Third Joint Session

LD3011113088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, our special correspondent, reports from the 12th special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin Grand Palace:

[Ruvinskiy] The third joint session of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet ended half an hour ago. What can be said about the results of these debates in the main forum of our state? Incidentally, 37 people spoke before it was decided to put an end to the debates. The deputies consider the proposed draft laws on changing the Constitution and the electoral procedure to be extremely necessary and timely, and they pointed out that implementation of the first stage of political reform must not be delayed. This is the opinion of the overwhelming majority of those who spoke at the sessions. But there are a lot of amendments to and criticisms of the draft, which has already been revised. Some deputies doubt the expediency of the two-stage procedure for forming the USSR Supreme Soviet. The procedure for selecting deputies from public organizations is not clear to everyone, either.

A lot of similar questions have cropped up which are in fact of fundamental importance, considerations such as the following: Deputy Lavrov drew the attention of those taking part in the session to the fact that the very hall in which the USSR Supreme Soviet sits is mainly adapted for unanimity and not for heated debates, discussions, or pluralism of opinions. [passage omitted]

I want to tell our listeners that this afternoon the Supreme Soviet commissions will start work. It is up to them to draw up the final document for voting, of course, taking into account the opinions expressed by the deputies.

CPSU Central Auditing Commission Meets

PM2911145388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "CPSU Central Auditing Commission Session"]

[Text] A session of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission was held 28 November. The tasks of improving the commission's work in accordance with the demands of the 19th all-union party conference were discussed. A report was delivered by A.A. Nizovtseva, deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission Bureau.

The core of all party organizations' work now, she said, is the practical implementation of the 19th party conference directives, whose fulfillment will make it possible to considerably accelerate the processes of restructuring, the radical reform, and the democratization of Soviet society. The CPSU Central Committee July and November (1988) Plenums were an important stage in the implementation of the all-union party conference directives.

The party's control and auditing organs are responsible for great tasks in implementing what has been planned. In this regard the report stressed that the level of auditing work achieved should not be reduced. On the contrary, we must increase it in every possible way, developing and deepening the positive changes that have taken place in the activity of the Central Auditing Commission and local party organizations' auditing commissions following the 27th CPSU Congress. This has been promoted by the regular fulfillment of the Central Auditing Commission's work plans and the stepping up of its attention to the provision of methodical assistance to local auditing commissions. The activity of many republic, kray, and oblast party organizations' auditing commissions has been galvanized. Glasnost has been expanded in auditing work. The results of the checks carried out by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission have been repeatedly discussed at Central Committee Secretariat sessions, and materials on most of the questions under examination have been published in the central press.

All this provides a basis for the further improvement of auditing work. At the same time, the report stated, the effectiveness of auditing commissions' activity is still inadequate. Their work often displays inertia, passivity, and a desire to act in the old way. There are still many auditing commissions which make a poor job of carrying out the duties entrusted to them. A tendency to underestimate the role and importance of auditing work has emerged in certain party organs, and poor use is made of auditing work for strengthening discipline and enhancing Communists' responsibility for the fulfillment of statutory demands.

The tasks of further stepping up the work of the Central Auditing Commission and local party organizations' auditing commissions and the extensive participation by commission members in all planned measures are particularly topical at present.

It is necessary to strive to improve the effectiveness of the controls carried out by auditing commissions—including the Central Auditing Commission—on the state of the payment, receipt, and recording of party dues, which will promote the strengthening of discipline and the enhancement of Communists' organization. Despite the constant fulfillment of the CPSU budget targets for collecting party membership dues, the auditing commissions have uncovered serious shortcomings. One of these is the incomplete payment of membership dues. In the first 6 months of this year underpayment had increased in the party organizations of the Communist Parties of Armenia, Latvia, and Lithuania and in the Chuvash, Gomel, Ivanovo, and a number of other oblast party organizations.

It was noted that the Central Auditing Commission and the other auditing commissions have a great deal to do to implement the 19th party conference resolution "On the Struggle Against Bureaucratism." They have started paying greater attention to this question in their work recently. However, the task of monitoring the democratization of intraparty life, cleansing it of any bureaucratic accretions, and asserting the Leninist style in work is as yet being performed by no means everywhere. Of the 86 republic, kray, and oblast party organization auditing commissions, only 31 have reported that affairs in party committees have been checked. Many auditing commissions check the work done on examining working people's letters at their press publications' party organs and editorial bureaus on an irregular and superficial basis. The deadline for examining working people's comments has been overrun in a number of instances. Thus, at the Chechen-Ingush CPSU Obkom the examination of one letter in every 10 took longer than the time laid down.

The development of glasnost is an important task in improving party work as a whole and the work of auditing commissions as integral components of the party. If we proceed on the basis of the conference demands, the main speaker noted, glasnost in auditing work—including the Central Auditing Commission's activity—has still not been properly developed. We should devote greater attention to this area of work and make use of the favorable opportunity that is opening up—the publication of the new weekly journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS [CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE NEWS]. It will take account of many proposals from 19th CPSU Conference delegates.

The report went on to talk about the need to improve the composition of auditing commissions. Leading party organs are now being elected at the report and election conferences being held in the party on a broad, democratic footing. This is creating the conditions for electing to auditing commissions truly enterprising, principled, and authoritative Communists able to move restructuring forward with action rather than words. Bearing in mind the fact that commissions are, as a rule, being considerably renewed, it is necessary to organize training for commission chairmen and members, emphasizing the practical side.

Taking part in the discussion on the report were the following members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission: A.P. Dumachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; L.I. Shvetsova, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee; Yu.A. Izrael, chairman of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology; A.P. Kharlamov, chief editor of SELSKAYA ZHIZN; I.A. Shinkevich, chairman of the Railroad and Transport Construction Workers Trade Union Central Committee; G.F. Sukhoruchenkova, secretary of the AUCCTU; and R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

The speakers at the session made a number of criticisms and proposals about improving the activity of the Central Auditing Commission and local party organizations' auditing commissions.

Legal Expert Discusses Republics, Constitution

PM2611132088 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, by TASS correspondent A. Aladinskiy, under the rubric "Topical Interview": "On the Basis of Consolidation"—date, place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Moscow—The 19th all-union party conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations" says that within the framework of the reform of the political system practical steps must be taken to further develop the Soviet Federation and strengthen it on democratic principles. The editorial offices of TASS and the newspapers are today receiving many letters in response to the events taking place in certain regions of the country and proposals on the democratization of public life. Many of them ask this question: Will the decision of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session, which adopted, in particular, an amendment to Article 74 of the republic's Constitution, promote the implementation of this important party conference resolution?

This was the starting point for the conversation between TASS' correspondent and Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law.

[Kudryavtsev] What the Estonian comrades proposed and adopted at their session in relation to Article 74 of the republican Constitution in fact concerns the union Constitution too. The matter was formulated thus: that the laws of the Union do not operate on the territory until they have been registered or approved by the republican organs of power. Is this proposal acceptable? Of course not. Estonia, like any other republic, is part of the Federation. And the USSR Constitution, like the republic's Constitution, emphasizes that our republics are sovereign. At the same time this sovereignty is exercised within the framework of a union state. And I would like to note that union laws are characterized by the fact that they are adopted not by some kind of aliens or outsiders, but by the very people who represent the union republics.

When the lawfulness of the operation of an all-union law on the territory of a union republic is called into question, then, like it or not, this is an expression of no confidence or a repudiation of the position of the republic's deputies who voted for the law in the union organ.

The basis of the very principle of federation is that a federal law, which operates over the entire territory of the federation, should, of course, take into account both the interests of each republic, their common interests, and international agreements.

And another thing. We are building a socialist rule-of-law state, and the principle of supremacy of the law is a central one. The USSR is a rule-of-law federal state. Clearly the supremacy of the law in a federal state is hierarchical: It presupposes the supremacy of the federal law for the whole country, the supremacy of republican law over delegated legislative acts for its own territory, and correspondingly the supremacy of acts of local self-government and of local soviets on their territory with regard to departmental instructions.

[Aladinskiy] Are there any precedents at all for what the Estonian SSR deputies proposed at the republic Supreme Soviet session in the experience of political systems in other states?

[Kudryavtsev] No, no such precedent exists. In federal states, for instance the FRG or the United States, the sole principle of the operation of federal law over the entire territory is widespread. Anything else is impossible, even if you take a confederation, that is to say not a union state, but a union of states. The Swiss Confederation, for instance. But even there you will not see any nihilism with regard to the general laws. After all, a law adopted for the entire territory is the general will of the population.

Certainly in the process of discussion of a federal law there may be disagreements between different republics or regions of the country. But that is the reason for the existence of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which, we propose, should be an acting organ, not merely a voting organ.

[Aladinskiy] In my view the Estonian deputies' haste in adopting their decisions reflects a general trend in many union republics today toward participating in the most active way in the improvement of our country's political system. Could this be the reason for their haste?

[Kudryavtsev] To be frank, there are both negative and positive circumstances that were factors here. The main negative factor is the stagnation over a long period and the failure to resolve not only national problems, but also social problems, including questions of economic autonomy for the regions. And the positive factor is expressed in the growth of the population's social activeness. This activeness may have assumed extreme forms in some cases. But in general it is a reaction to the dogmatism and stagnation we had before.

I personally am optimistic about the process of social development, the process of democratization. I think certain extremes could be brought into a normal condition. This "infantile disease" could be cured by the most democratic and normal means, that is, by means of agreement, by means of the clarification of positions and the finding of a solution that is reasonable and acceptable to everyone.

It must be said, of course, that undesirable phenomena also come to the surface on this wave of turbulent processes. Both phenomena of a nationalist nature, and those that are simply anarchic. But it is obvious that the majority of people have a healthy view of these events. The elimination of extremes has already emerged, for instance, on the question of the republican language. Everyone realizes that the language is not only a means of personal relations between people, but also a means of interethnic contact.

Incidentally, let me note that the worldwide trends at the moment are very different from those that we are, unfortunately, observing in these extreme manifestations. A world trend is visible toward integration between regions, countries, and different parts of states.

[Aladinskiy] It was clear from the deputies' speeches at the session of Estonia's highest organ of power that in the main their fears have not so much to do with union law as such, as with departmental instructions, decrees, and acts, which are often contrary to internal legislation and economic and ecological interests.

[Kudryavtsev] I agree, the overcentralized sector system of management hampered and continues to hamper the republics' comprehensive development, while ill-considered decisions on the siting of production forces, that fail to take account of public opinion in the region concerned, lead sooner or later to great moral and indeed material damage. But that is an entirely different matter. Unlawful actions by some department or ministry are not union laws. A struggle is under way everywhere today against departmental law-making. This was spoken of in a highly principled way at the 19th party conference, too. But effective instruments are necessary for this struggle. What instruments? The Constitutional Oversight Committee, which is now proposed in the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution of the USSR. I think that the republic, too, should have a constitutional oversight committee that could oppose incorrect departmental decisions that are contrary to the republic's Constitution. Not to mention the fact that we have the prosecutor's oversight, which should not allow departmental acts to run counter to a republic's legitimate interests.

In general it must be said that it would be expedient to develop a number of legal mechanisms for coordinating interests between a republic and the Union, between different republics, and also at a lower level.

[Aladinskiy] What do you have in mind?

[Kudryavtsev] We are saying that a republic's interests should be taken into account in every way. Incidentally, deputies' commissions—both the preparatory commission and the legislative proposals commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet—have already adopted a number of amendments that have precisely this aim. But the question arises: Will the republican leadership itself become involved in unnecessary centralism in management? Will there be strong administrative pressure on rayons and cities? Clearly the democratization process should not stop at the level of relations between union and republican organs, it should be extended further and penetrate the lower levels of social relations.

[Aladinskiy] In that case the experiment that will be carried out in Estonia to transfer the entire republic to economic accountability should play a positive role. And shouldn't corresponding legislative acts be formulated here too? From the legal viewpoint, to what degree can the economic management autonomy and economic independence of a republic develop?

[Kudryavtsev] Regional economic accountability is certainly a move in the right direction. The other day, the USSR Council of Ministers held a detailed exchange of opinions on problems of the demarcation of the powers of the USSR and the soviet republics in the economic sphere, the transfer of various management functions to the localities, and the stepping up of their autonomy and responsibility. This was also spoken of in the 19th all-union party conference decisions, and these tasks were set in the CPSU Central Committee resolution on preparations for the Central Committee plenum on improving ethnic relations in the USSR. But at the same time the participants in that session noted that the new economic mechanism of territorial management should aim to combine harmoniously the interests of each republic, their common interests, and the country's needs.

The republics' economic autonomy must certainly be developed. There should be no petty interference in their economic affairs. This, too, should have its own legal logic, its legal base. When the Estonian proposal on amending the Constitution says that the means of production, banks, transportation, and so forth should be exclusively the property of the republic, of course this is too naive, if I may say so. Apparently we should take away all the means of production from the Union and turn everything into republican property. But there has to be a differentiated approach. Take transportation, for instance. One cannot imagine that Aeroflot's aircraft should be distributed among the 15 union republics. Or the railroads. Or gas pipelines.... All these things should be the property of the whole people. Naturally, this applies to industry, too. After all, there are union sectors that can only function successfully on a countrywide scale. And that is true of any state.

On the other hand, there should also be republican sectors, such as light industry. And here republican ownership arouses no doubts. But let us think further about this. Why should this approach be confined to republican level?

A city, a rayon, and, where a republic is divided into oblasts, an oblast should each have their own economic autonomy. Within certain limits, of course, and within certain relationships.

Take the Russian Federation. It is large. And it is clear that within that vast region there should not be one single form of economic relations, namely the republican level. There should be a kray, oblast, and city economic accountability policy, to say nothing of the autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and national okrugs. Therefore this question is by no means exclusively a question of national statehood, it is a general policy for implementation of the principle of democratic centralism. In politics as in the economy.

[Aladinskiy] What is needed, in your view, to promote calm, thoughtful discussion and the adoption of decisions that are acceptable to everyone on the democratization of our political system and the creation of a real rule-of-law state?

[Kudryavtsev] What is needed are not only "long-distance" statements conveyed to the USSR Supreme Soviet via the press or via a torrent of letters; what is needed, it seems to me, are direct meetings between representatives of the republics and the commission on drafting the USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR. And such meetings are scheduled. They will, of course, be held in the near future, both with Estonian representatives and with representatives of other republics. What is needed are direct, practical, working contacts between specialists, at a single "round table," where it will be possible to discuss in detail all the mechanisms necessary to remove unnecessary doubt and emotion, leading to mutually acceptable solutions.

'Tensions Remain High' in Caucasus Republics

LD2911234888 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] According to reports from the Caucasus, tensions in the region remain high, though in the capital of Azerbaijan, Baku, a trend toward normalization is in evidence. Many Baku residents have expressed support for the stand taken by a group of World War II and labor veterans, who published through local periodicals a call for strengthening friendship and neighborliness among all ethnic groups living in Azerbaijan.

In the capital of neighboring Armenia, Yerevan, the plants with uninterrupted production circle continue to work.

In the meantime, the leaders of the illegal Karabakh grouping have managed to provoke walkouts at some plants and factories. Law-enforcers have confiscated more than a dozen firearms and other weapons from extremist-minded elements.

Nationalists staged demonstrations in Tbilisi, the capital of another Soviet republic in the Caucasus, Georgia. Legal proceedings have been launched against a hooligan who attempted in a state of intoxication to remove Georgia's state flag from the roof of the government building.

Correspondent Reports on Situation in Kirovabad

LD2911211188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Report by Sergey Omelchenko, Moscow Radio special correspondent from Kirovabad]

[Text] The situation in Azerbaijan SSR remains strained and complex. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports from Kirovabad.

[Omelchenko] No illegal acts connected with relations between nationalities have been recorded in the town for the last 2 days. Only two of the town's 36 enterprises are not at work. The town party committee is taking measures to stabilize the situation. Transport is running almost normally. A number of apartments damaged during the 21-24 November riots have already been repaired. The town's authorities are making sure that there is no unauthorized occupation of abandoned appartments.

Refugees arriving from various rayons in Armenia are making the situation more complex. Over 700 persons have arrived. They all must be found accomodation, food, and work, and their children sent to school. It is a working day today, but there are a surprising number of people in the town center during daytime. Groups, consisting mostly of men, gather here in the morning. The same abnormality exists in Kirovabad as throughout the whole of Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Armenia. Rumors, sometimes totally absurd, are spreading, passions are stirred, facts are distorted, and sometimes we journalists contribute to this, too. People become more nervous, neighbor becomes afraid of neighbor, people become afraid of another people, current events and ancient history are distorted. In short, a scrupulous and immense effort is required by all party and Soviet workers and all the honest and intelligent people to stabilize the situation and restore normality, both here in Kirovabad and in the entire region.

Here is another important report: The collectives of a number of Kirovabad enterprises have sent a telegram to Baku with an appeal to follow their example and stop mass actions, because the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee is taking steps to solve the problems that have given rise to the current conflict.

Scenes in Baku's Lenin Square Described

PM2611180888 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondents R. Lynev, A. Stepovoy report: "Baku, 26 November"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] IZVESTIYA's special correspondents arrived in Azerbaijan 25 November. We publish their first report.

The first impression is that everything is as it always is in the city. The stores and institutions are open and there are many people in the streets, hurrying about their affairs. But then we reach the first intersection, where armored carriers stand, with soldiers with submachine guns beside them. The closer you come to the center, the more keenly you feel it—the city is, alas, not as it always is. In the center, surface public transport has stopped.

All the approaches to Government House and the adjacent Lenin Square are closed, yet groups of people with flags and banners approach the square itself in an endless stream, on foot and in cars. Many of them, especially the young people, have their hair tied up with red ribbons bearing the legend "Karabakh." Immediately before the square is another cordon. Or rather, two: a chain of soldiers, and in front of them young people controlling the entrance to the square. Some of them have their symbol on their lapels—labels from "Karabakh"-brand cigarettes. They are volunteers. They check everyone who they think looks suspicious. They inspect bags and they asked us to show our passports. Later, we had to produce them on a number of other occasions. Why?

"To prevent provocations," we were told.

Throughout the days leading up to our arrival here, the telephones in the editorial office were buzzing with agitated calls: "Why are you not writing about what is happening in Baku? Why are you hiding the truth from the people?!"

But this is a fact: On arriving in Baku we learned that subscribers did not receive IZVESTIYA for 25 November. The reason? The first short report on the rallies in Azerbaijan and Armenia, the content of which was not to the liking of workers at the local publishing house and printing plant. Where is the truth; where is glasnost under that kind of censorship?

In Kirovabad people have been wounded. Three servicemen were killed. In connection with this a special situation was imposed in Baku, Kirovabad, and Nakhichevan. An appeal by S.B. Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said that the holding of rallies, demonstrations, and strikes is prohibited at any time of day.

But alas, all these warnings remained only on paper.

In recent days AZERINFORM has refuted the rumor that the disorders in Kirovabad began because a little girl died when she fell under an armored carrier. It is easy to imagine the agitation and indignation a rumor like that caused among the public. That is what happens when "authentic" facts are received second or third hand, or even from totally dubious sources. But who has an interest in this? Antirestructuring forces, AZERINFORM thinks.

As for the people in the square—they are all different. Guseyn Mamedov, a 28-year-old fire service chief at a plant, explains why he is here in the middle of the working day.

"We demand compliance with the law. I do not want a repetition of Sumgait, or of Kirovabad, where blood flowed a few days ago. This time it was the blood of Russian soldiers who had come to maintain order. That is why I am here."

Murat Amirov, until recently a tank man and now a student in the 1st year at the polytechnical institute, says:

"I am explaining to everyone that a soldier is not an enemy of our people, but a defender."

Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Sandalov remembers Sumgait well. He says:

"When we were sent here, to Baku, we were afraid it would all happen again. But here the situation is entirely different; everything is organized. People are friendly to the soldiers. It would be nice if we could continue to avoid excesses."

Now, as we write these lines, the voices of successive speakers, amplified by a megaphone, ring out over the square.

Baku Radio Cites Press Reports on Situation
NC2611083388 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 26 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] And now some reports about other items in today's papers. Most of them naturally concern the events of the last few days. First of all, let us draw the attention of Russian-speaking readers to the fact that the article by Doctor of Economic Sciences (?Zargarov) entitled "Ill Intentions and Foreign Voices" that was published in yesterday's KOMMUNIST and which has found the broadest response, is reprinted in today's BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY. For those who have not yet heard about this article, let us briefly define its contents: It describes how Armenian nationalists and their patrons are sowing discord among the peoples.

The meeting in Lenin Square that has been going on for several days is not tapering off. The people who have gathered in the center of the republic's capital are waiting for the fulfillment of their demands, the main ones being the bringing of proper order to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the punishment of those guilty of exacerbating the situation and violating Azerbaijan's sovereign laws.

It has long been the case that those gathering in Lenin Square are not just youngsters, but also grey-haired veterans and party workers. In fact, from the first days,

the 26 Baku Commissars Party Raykom and its first secretary, Mamedov, focused all their work on this center of events. This is described by BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in a report entitled "Veterans and Youth" published on the second page.

A lengthy interview with (?Richin), the chairman of the Vatan Society, which develops links with fellow countrymen abroad, is published by KOMMUNIST. This is on the paper's fourth page and is entitled "Truth Is With Us."

The papers are paying a lot of attention not only to events but also to the state of affairs in Baku where a special status is in effect today for the third day. According to the newspapers, order on the streets and squares of the city is, on the whole, being preserved. However, as reported by Motor Transport Minister Rustamov, serious difficulties have been created in city transport. A group of young people is not allowing buses to carry passengers. Incidents of threats against and beatings of drivers are not rare. It is imperative to understand, emphasizes the AZERINFORM report, that such acts not only hamper the life of citizens, but also dampen the eagerness of those interested in calming the situation in Baku and the republic.

The AZERINFORM correspondent ponders jounalistic etiquette and elementary decency in reporting an article by a certain Markaryan in the pages of the Russian-language Yerevan newspaper KOMMUNIST. We will not deal in detail with the content of this report, which you can read by yourselves in any of the republican newspapers. We will only note that following Markaryan, the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH is also juggling facts and turning them upside down. It is obvious that the consistent course of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the government of the republic in overcoming the damage inflicted on internationalist relations is still meeting the fierce resistance of frankly nationalistic forces.

On 23 November BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY wrote about the significance of Tophana, a locality near Shusha, as a marvelous corner of nature possessing unique flora. The paper once more turns to this subject and carries an article by (Gazhiev), the director of the Botanical Institute of the Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the republic's academy.

"Our Language and Linguistics in the Light of Perestroyka" is the title of an article in KOMMUNIST by (Cherudin Dzhalilov), reader at the Azerbaijan state university.

In conclusion, we would like to draw your attention to another report in today's papers which tells of the rehabilitation by the Supreme Court of the Azerbaijan SSR of a group of young Baku workers who had been sentenced in 1946 after being falsely accused of anti-Soviet activities.

'Autumn of Anxiety' Described in Baku, Yerevan

PM2711151888 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 27 Nov 88 p 2

[Reports by special correspondents A. Romanov and A. Teplyuk in Baku, G. Ivanov-Smolenskiy and V. Umnov in Yerevan, plus editorial office commentary: "Baku, Yerevan: Autumn of Anxiety"]

[Text] [A. Romanov, A. Teplyuk report] Baku—We did not recognize the road from Bina airport. We had never seen anything like it before, except, perhaps, on "International Panorama." Armed patrols, military hardware. But this is still Baku. Here and in several places in the republic there is a special situation. A curfew has been imposed. Rallies, demonstrations, and strikes are banned. But even on the 3d day after the imposition of the special situation, little has changed in the city—many enterprises are not working, transport operations are subject to interruptions, rallies are constantly being held.

On Lenin Square there is a large crowd, with armored carriers forming barriers. There is a strong smell of smoke. When we realize why, we feel slightly relieved. It is not from conflagrations. A dozen camp fires are burning in the square. The square is closely surrounded. The soldiers look impressive: submachine guns, helmets. Despite the late hour and our lack of a special pass, we are able to pass through—by way of a narrow approach guarded by volunteer militia details.

There are comparatively few people outside Government House—about 20,000 (in the daytime there are about half a million). The majority of them are spending the whole night here. Tents, stacks of firewood, a cluster of people around the camp fires. Suddenly, as if at a signal, the surroundings shake as tens of thousands of people chant the word "Karabakh!"

Some stern-looking guys (they have combat orders and medals on their green parkas) carefully check our documents. Someone volunteers to escort us—a young historian. Several more people come up to us. And we immediately start hearing complaints about all the central press—for its long silence and for its coverage of events in connection with Nagorno-Karabakh, which is not the kind of coverage our new acquaintances would like.

Further into the square there is a kind of center. It is a tent where those taking part in the rally have their headquarters. It operates round the clock. Our guide calls in there for permission, gets the "go-ahead," and leads us to another, bigger tent. It is enclosed by benches and access to it is barred by an unofficial patrol. We are told that six young Azerbaijanis began a hunger strike here on 17 November. On folding beds in the tent there are four guys (we were told that the student Aida Zulfigarova and the worker Akif Aliyev called off their hunger strike because of their deteriorating health and the admonitions of their relatives, and are now in the

hospital). The other four—Faramaz Allakhverdiyev, Rafaddin Nuriyev, Aliaga Iskenderov, and Elshan Kuliyev—have so far resisted the pleas of their parents, clergymen, and participants in the rally.

A brief interview with F. Allakhverdiyev. He looks a little brighter than the others.

"When the American Professor Hyder was on hunger strike, the central newspapers wrote about it every day. We have been on hunger strike for 9 days, drawing attention to the fact that the Nagornyy Karabakh problem is not being resolved, but no interest is being shown in us," Faramaz says in an injured tone.

For all the babble, the square lives according to laws of its own. Thousands of people obey the man with the megaphone. At a word from him, a table was laid for us next to the hunger strikers' tent, and we were fed well. Food is free for those taking part in the rally.

There is a special situation in the city. But it apparently does not extend to the central square. We recognize the former "Afghaners" from afar by their erect figures. They have come here at a difficult time to help ensure order. As soon as more than five or six people begin to gather around us, the "Afghaners" tactfully ask the curious to move on. We are completely safe here.

But alas, the same cannot be said confidently of absolutely all the inhabitants of Baku. In Lenin Square hundreds of thousands of people have sworn a solemn oath: Nothing will make them take an ill-considered step, and emotion will not prevail over reason. But the words of the oath did not reach everyone: Several dozen drivers who went out on the roads were stopped.

The trigger for the deterioration in the situation, AZERINFORM explained, was the start on construction of a branch of the Armenian SSR's Kanakerskiy Aluminum Plant in the village of Topkhana on the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. As activists in the square told us, this place is a site of historic and national significance for the Azerbaijanis. Be that as it may, according to the latest reports from the autonomous oblast construction work and the shipment of materials to Topkhana have been stopped.

There are still many rumors about the tragic events in Kirovabad, where as a result of disturbances 3 servicemen died and at least 160 inhabitants sought medical help. AZERINFORM has refuted rumors that the disorders began after "a small girl died after falling under an armored carrier." No such incident occurred.

It must be noted that relations between the inhabitants of Baku and the servicemen are markedly friendly. We saw this for ourselves, observing many scenes of peaceful conversation in the city streets.

But it would be wrong to conclude with this reassuring picture. The situation remains serious.

IZVESTIYA did not come out in Baku on Friday or Saturday. Apparently the issue did not pass the strikers' unusual form of "censorship." As we transmit this report, we hope that people in Baku will read it.

[G. Ivanov-Smolenskiy, V. Umnov report] Yerevan—We had not previously been to a city where a curfew is in force. And therefore for the whole of the first evening we could not shake off a strange feeling—as if everything we see is happening not in Yerevan, as we walk and drive around the city, but somewhere in the movies, on a remote screen.

There are armored carriers not far from the entrance to Zvartnots Airport, soldiers in helmets stamping their feet around a camp fire. Then along the whole of the road to the city, tanks and armored cars alternate with big bouquets of chrysanthemums and carnations arranged outside gates—for sale.

But as we took off from Vnukovo we could already see how important these events are for everyone—wherever people may live. Everyone, from the duty officer at the airport to the commander of the IL-86, on learning about the purpose of our trip, helped us—we had no tickets—as much as they could.

And here we are in Yerevan. In the hotel, behind the receptionist, is a board that is an extraordinary sight in our hotels—it invites guests to come, because "places are available." One of us was in Yerevan in the summer of last year—at that time it would have been inconceivable to see such a thing. But now.... Now the restaurant and buffet, like all the stores, close at 2000 hours—all the staff have to hurry home before the curfew. For pedestrians, it begins at 2200 hours.

It is not far from the hotel to Theater Square, where large rallies have assembled in recent months. Carefully checking our watches—we still have 1 hour 35 minutes to spare—we set off "for a walk." It is hard to conceive of Yerevan being like this in the evening—no aroma of coffee in the streets and avenues, no lively activity as the weekend approaches.

Three soldiers detach themselves from a cordon, approach a group of five or six people, and ask them to disperse. The people disperse. Some of them cross the road to where the soldiers are standing and where an appeal from the city commandant in Armenian and Russian is displayed; they study it. On learning that we are from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, a militiaman pulls out a copy from under his flak jacket and gives it to us.

What was the runup to this unusual situation?

On the eve of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session, rallies were being held daily in Theater Square to discuss the agenda. The items on the agenda were extremely important—the republic's state plan and budget; the adoption of a law on the designation of 24 April as memorial day for the victims of the genocide of Armenians in 1915; and the fulfillment by republican soviet and economic organs of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. People voiced their proposals and met with the republic's leadership workers. The rallies arose spontaneously, and, since they were taking place more or less continuously, there was no official permission to hold them.

And on 22 November the session began, with live television transmission to the entire republic.

"Everyone was waiting impatiently for this event," Levon Yeolyan, secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, who was present at the session, says. "The discussion was very lively, committed, really parliamentary. By 1800 hours reports came in concerning the deterioration in the situation in Azerbaijan—Baku, Kirovabad, Nakhichevan. The deputies decided to break off the session. Many of them went back to their rayons. Everything was going quite smoothly. But the next morning we saw once again that the lack of up-to-the-minute information only leads to the exacerbation of the situation. Rumors began to circulate among people that the session had been suspended for an entirely different reason...."

And one must agree with the Komsomol Central Committee secretary on this point. Assembling in Theater Square next morning, the participants in the rally proposed that the session be continued. Messengers were sent to the rayons to fetch the deputies, and more than 200 deputies gathered in the Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet on the evening of 24 November. The purport of the decisions it adopted was to accelerate the "political resolution of the Karabakh crisis" and prolong the discussion of the draft amendments to the USSR Constitution by another 2 months.

The next day, 25 November, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, guided by Article 109, Point 2 of the Armenian Constitution, Articles 4 and 5 of the republic Supreme Soviet regulations, and the 22 November decision of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, declared unlawful the session held in the theater building on 24 November.

The previous day, at 2335 hours, Lieutenant General V.N. Samsonov, who has been appointed military commandant of the city, addressed the people of Yerevan on local television. A curfew was imposed from 2400 hours on 24 November.

...After dictating this reportage for the newspaper, we called the republican MVD. In answer to our question about the latest situation, A.N. Sarkisov, chief of the organizational and inspection department, told us:

"On the whole the situation in Armenia on 25 November was calm, although many enterprises in Yerevan were not working. The night of Friday to Saturday also passed without incident...."

From the Editorial Office:

If there were such a thing as a political dictionary compiled other than on an alphabetical basis, the words "democracy" and "civilization" could go next to each other. The institutions of democracy are capable of developing to the full only in the conditions of a civilized society. The democratic processes taking place in the country have awakened social awareness and brought to the surface the old, underlying strata of problems. Interethnic relations have deteriorated drastically. Many things are interwoven in this complex knot of problems. Unraveling it requires not only energetic efforts by the central and local authorities, but also time, mutual understanding, and patience. Unfortunately, these last two qualities are lacking among the paritcipants in the events of recent days in Baku, Yerevan, and other Transcaucasian cities.

The range of people involved in these events is widening; there is unrest [nespokoyno] not only in the capitals, but in other cities, too. Rallies, demonstrations, and strikes are affecting the country's sociopolitical climate. Letters received at the editorial office during these days and telephone calls from readers are marked by grief and perplexity. There is also a different kind of mail, the appearance of which could have been predicted. The authors of these letters believe that violations of law and order, insubordination to the authorities, and hooliganism on the part of various extremists and nationalists are...the consequence of restructuring. Was this what they wanted, those people who, while talking persistently about restructuring, retard it through their actions?

Among the people who are constantly out in the squares of Yerevan and Baku, there are many members of the intelligentsia, people who are well known in the country. Surely they more than anyone are called upon today, during these anxious days for the fraternal peoples, to speak words of kindness, reason, and calm. Unfortunately, this does not always happen. There are people who kindle national discord and call for violations of order. Echoes of these irresponsible speeches reach the local press and are thus multiplied in tens of thousands of copies.

Dissatisfaction with the central authorites is often expressed; Moscow, people say, is failing to intervene. This reproach can hardly be accepted. A CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations is being prepared and is to be held in mid-1989. The CPSU

Central Committee deems it necessary to draw up proposals on amendments and additions to existing legislation governing questions of interethnic relations. Measures are being adopted to safeguard order and the rule of law. But here it is important for efforts to be made not only by the legal organs, but by the entire population. It is time people realized that the militia and servicemen are defending first and foremost the honor, dignity, and safety of citizens and their property.

Baku Official Interviewed on Tense Situation

LD2811204488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast—interview with V.G. Mamedov, first secretary of the rayon party committee, by correspondent M. Mamedov in Baku; date not given; speakers identified by screen captions—recorded]

[Text] Our special correspondent reports from Azerbaijan:

[M. Mamedov] The situation in Baku remains complicated and tense. Feelings have been running high for quite a few days now in the main square of the ancient city. The gates of many enterprises are closed, train cars full of freight stand idle in the sidings, the booms of the tower cranes have stopped moving. And the results are large material losses. This is shown also by reports arriving at the rayon party committee headquarters. [video shows a long shot of a large crowd in a square; harbor with ships and cranes; an armored personnel carrier in the middle of a street; men in khaki uniforms making notes in large notebooks, one of the men with an armband, inscribed operational duty officer]

The situation is most tense in the 26 Baku Commissars Rayon. After all, on its territory many thousands attended a rally. The urgency of the situation today is forcing the Communists to search for new ways of working with the people. [video shows a wall map of the district, V.G. Mamedov speaking on the phone]

[V.G. Mamedov] We do not know what worried the people, we underestimated their feelings, we got absorbed in our meetings and resolutions. We held a conference. Everyone was busy with reports and all sorts.

[M. Mamedov] You are searching for new approaches, new ways to work with the people. Presumably you are making mistakes. After all, you, too, are learning to swim, because this situation is a first in Baku.

[V.G. Mamedov] That's right, that's right.

[M. Mamedov] Could you tell us, please, the main mistakes you are discovering? What is now hampering your work with the people?

[V.G. Mamedov] We have to learn democracy. There shouldn't be the kind of democracy where one group or one man takes the microphone, takes the square, and leads everyone in only one direction. We have ways to coordinate the actions of various forces. Consequently we have a strategy. If there is no strategy then no tactics can be subordinated to strategy. We have to explain to the people that demonstrations and rallies have by now played their role. We have made the decision to transfer this discussions to enterprises. What does a day's work mean? We are only hurting ourselves. We are not going to frighten or crush anyone by this. And if someone is thinking of frightening somebody, that means they are adopting the principle of force. It shouldn't be done by force but by strength of intellect, strength of character, strength of recognizing the law. We have to study the people's mood. Intensively. So that every leader is with the people at all times, so that the people's problems are his problems. Then this linkage becomes real and, how can I put it, reliable.

Baku Deputy Commandant Speaks on Television

NC3011101788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 28 Nov 88

["Text" of television address by Major General Boris L. Aleksandrov, deputy commandant for political affairs of the Baku city special district—date not given; read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed residents of Baku, it is now the 5th day of the special situation and curfew in the city. A number of orders issued by Colonel General Mikhail Aleksandrovich Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku city special district, have been published in the latest editions of the republic's newspapers. The main provisions of these documents, which explained the nature and objectives of the special situation and curfew hours thoroughly and in detail, have been outlined with sufficient conviction and clarity, without aggravating the situation.

The appeal by Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, explained the reasons which necessitated the adoption of extraordinary measures. These reasons can be described as the serious deterioration of interethnic relations, an escalation in the activities of individual elements who provoke unrestrained behavior and confusion, and the heightening of the threat to the lives, honor, and dignity of Azerbaijan's citizens. The obstruction of the dangerous deterioration of the situation was the main reason for the declaration of the special situation and the imposition of a curfew. The constitutional rights of Baku residents had to be safeguarded and a high degree of organization, discipline, and law and order had to be maintained.

We have reason to believe that the situation in the city is now under control as a result of the measures that have been put into effect. We are deeply moved by the fact,

and we can say this without exaggeration, that in addition to the friendly relations that were initially established between the Baku residents and Soviet troops, who have been instructed to fulfill the tasks required by the special situation and the curfew that has been imposed, fraternal relations are being set up between them at the present time as well.

All of us, including the residents of Baku and the troops, sincerely rejoice in the friendly situation in the streets. On the one hand, we have the serious curfew conditions and on the other, we have smiles, exchanges of view, friendly talks, chats, and debates. This is very pleasant, because it reaffirms the unshakable unity between the army and the people.

I regard it as essential to inform you that the composition of our units is international. This is an inseparable aspect of the Soviet Armed Forces. Our troops are well aware of the situation and of their tasks. Their duty is to ensure law and order and the normal activity of the people, and obstruct the lawless activities of individual elements and forces opposed to reconstruction. This is the humanitarian and auspicious objective of the troops in Baku.

I would like to note without exaggeration that we felt what the residents of Baku wanted and supported their endeavor. The majority of the proletarian residents of the city, who are known for their hospitality, kindness, and awareness, sincerely understand the important tasks of the troops and welcome them as the sons of the fraternal peoples of our multinational homeland. In view of this attitude, we express our heartfelt gratitude to Baku's residents and youths. Who has failed to see that [words indistinct] are having sincere talks with the troops manning large vehicles and tanks in connection with the existing situation? This attractive picture has a deep meaning.

Meanwhile, it is impossible not to observe that a fairly small group of people is trying to assess the activities of the Soviet troops from a nationalist angle. They are engaging in useless hooliganism and instigations against the troops. In view of this, I would like to note that the Soviet troops are very alert, vigilant, calm, and resolute. They will never be led (?by instigations) and will establish peace and law and order in the city with [word indistinct]. They will give a resolute reply to those who [words indistinct] and sow the seeds of nationalism.

I wish to take this opportunity to say that the generals and officers of the military commands in the Baku city special district are actively working to establish law and order and inform the people on various matters concerning the imposition of the curfew. Many of the questions that are being asked are related to emigration to other republics, purchase of railway and air tickets, obstruction of hooliganism by extremist groups, including the fear they spread, and concern about the fate of relatives in the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's.

Undoubtedly, the leadership of the military commands in the Baku city special district and the committee set up by the representatives of the units—which have been asigned to fulfill the tasks related to the special situation and curfew—will do whatever is required to fully respond to the requests of individuals who have asked our help. Again, the troops will undoubtedly not allow any instigation by those who are dissatisfied with the normalization of the situation and who do not want the tension to be reduced.

There are deliberate and unintentional rumors which aggravate the state of confusion, lack of confidence, and apprehension in the city at the present time. I would like to recall in this connection that the information provided by the military commandant of the Baku city special district can be an additional source of correct information for you.

As announced by the military commandant, reliable information on the situation in the city and the orders of the military commandant will be announced three times a day at 0700, 1400, and 2100 with a view to providing information and preventing instigating rumors from starting up. Undoubtedly, this will also enable the residents of Baku to obtain answers to many of their questions. [passage indistinct] On the contrary, by acting calmly, we can contribute toward the effort to reduce the duration of the special situation and curfew and normalize the situation in the city.

Trusting the high moral qualities of all the residents of Baku, and the sincerity and the sense of internationalism of the people in the region, we urge the people in the city to fully comply with the requirements and demands of the special situation and curfew, and help the leadership of the military commands and their committee to ensure adherence to law and order and establish discipline. [passage indistinct] Only perception, peace, and thoughtful behavior can help us normalize the situation and avoid emotional feelings in resolving the problems.

As the deputy commandant for political affairs of the Baku city special district, I urge all of you to act with perception, and consider the fact that the sooner law and order is established in the city, the quicker it will be possible to carry out the task of normalizing the situation.

The establishment of the conditions required by the residents of Baku to live, work, and study is a patriotic and international task for all of us. We have confidence in the support of the progressive forces, workers, intellectuals, and students of Baku. We can normalize the situation in Baku only through a concerted effort.

Baku Military Commandant Issues Various Orders

Transportation Order Issued

NC2911092588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Order No 3 of the military commandant of the Baku city special district, issued in Baku city and dated 26 November 1988]

[Text] I have been informed that the administrations and means of transportation and communications are not functioning in a normal way. I am issuing orders aimed at guaranteeing the proper transportation of people in Baku city and the harmonious operation of the communications systems.

1. Military headquarters will be set up in the administrations in the Baku city special district. Colonel Aleksandrovich will be in charge of the military headquarters in [name indistinct], Col Supov in the central railway (?administration), Lieutenant Colonel (?Dravzov) in the city subway, Lt Col (?Shtogrin) in the (?city bus service administration), and Lt Col (?Sulima) in the telephone (?exchange department).

2. The leading officials of the administrations and departments are instructed to fulfill all the orders and instructions of the military commandants in connection with the measures required for guaranteeing the safety of the individuals employed in accordance with pertinent andd legal documents, provide [word indistinct] and transportation vehicles, and carry out other services related to the security and normal work of the staff of the military headquarters.

3. The leading officials of the appropriate ministries and main administrations must give the necessary instructions to the personnel affiliated with them and assist them.

4. The 28 April and 26 Baku Commissars stations of the subway will be closed down as of 2400 local time on 27 November.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku city special district

Communications Order Issued

NC2911065088 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0455 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Order No 7 of the military commandant of the Baku City special district dated 28 November 1988, issued in Baku City]

[Text] Over the last few days complaints have been received about the violation of the rhythm of work in postal communications enterprises and unjustified refusals to provide citizens with all forms of postal and telegraph services. For the purpose of maintaining the uninterrupted operation of communications enterprises and ensuring the timely receipt, processing, and delivery of all sorts of postal dispatches, as well as the organization of the reliable functioning of the telephone and telegraph communications networks of Baku City, I order:

1. That Major General Anatoliy Grigorievich Fedorov be appointed deputy military commandant of the Baku City special district for communications.

2. That offices of the military commandant of the Baku City special district be established in the following communications establishments and enterprises: intercity telephone exchange, Baku City central post office, railway post office, Baku City central telegraph office, and the Baku City telephone network. Maj Gen Fedorov is to appoint commandants for the above military commandant's offices at his own discretion.

3. That heads of the above communications establishments and enterprises be obliged to fulfill all the orders and instructions of the military commandant except for those that do not respond to safety measures of persons as defined in appropriate legal documents, and that they provide premises, transport facilities, and other services related to the maintenance and normal operation of the personnel of the commandant's office.

4. That the heads of the Ministry of Communications of the Azerbaijan SSR issue the appropriate instructions to their subordinates and provide them with assistance.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City special district.

Order Appoints Deputies

NC2911072888 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0520 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Order No 8 of the military commandant of the Baku city special district, dated 28 November 1988, issued in Baku City]

[Text] On the establishment of military commandant's offices attached to the Ministries of Trade and Finance of hte Azerbaijan SSR.

Because a large number of complaints have been received from the city's population about violations in the organization of the work of trade, public catering, and financial institutions, I order:

1. That Colonel Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Avdoshin be appointed deputy military commandant of Baku city special district on matters related to organizing trade and public catering. He is entrusted with controlling the

organization of work at trade and public catering enterprises. He is to be assigned working space in the building of the Ministry of Trade of the Azerbaijan SSR, telephone 92-77-83.

2. That Colonel Leonid Pavlovich (?Perevitskiy) be appointed deputy commandant on financial issues, and be entrusted with the duty of controlling the operation of hte city's financial institutions. He is to be assigned working space in the building of the Ministry of Finance of the Azerbaijan SSR, telephone 93-3-12.

3. That the time designated by deputy commandants for receiving visitors be fixed as 1700-1900 hours daily in the buildings of the Ministry of Trade, (Sukhaili Kurbanov) Street, No 4, and the Ministry of Finance, [name indistinct] Street.

4. That the ministers of trade and finance of the Azerbaijan SSR bring to the attention of their subordinates and heads of enterprises and institutions the requirements of this order.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku city special district.

Paper Cites Baku Workers For, Against Strikes

PM3011101088 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 6

[Special correspondents V. Andrianov, D. Melikov report: "In the Shops and in the Square"]

[Text] Baku—We greeted the morning at the P. Montin plant, one of the enterprises of the "Azneftemash" Science-and-Production Association, which supplies some 60 percent of the country's oilfield equipment. Without this output the oil and gas wells are dead.

Together with plant director Dzhavanshir Bakirov, we walked through the shops: The machine tools are operating in the instrument shop and the machine shop, hot pigiron is flowing in the foundry.... Sabir Musayev, team leader of a comprehensive team of foundry workers, winner of a USSR State Prize, and republic Supreme Soviet deputy, points to the newly cast body of a shutoff valve for gusher equipment.

"During these difficult days," the team leader says, "our team, together with the engineering services, has started up a new technique for casting high-durability pigiron. We realize that people at distant oilfields are waiting for our products. I understand the feelings of the people in the square, but there is also such a thing as everyone's duty as a worker to the country and to the whole republic.

"Yesterday I heard the Azerbaijani Railroad chief speaking on television. He spoke of the difficult situation at Baku's freight station. More than 1,000 freightcars are waiting there to be unloaded, some of them carrying food.

"Our big team is prepared to help the railmen after our shift."

We also encountered this inclination to work, this mood of comradely cooperation in other teams in this senior Baku enterprise, where strong traditions of true proletarian internationalism go back a long way.

Lathe operator Yuriy Khachaturov, technologist Vladimir Shifrin, chief metallurgist Ali Nadzhafov, and many others told us about this. It is the result of tremendous efforts by the plant's Communists and deputies, who explain to their comrades that a strike is no way of resolving problems, however acute.

It was also necessary to rebuff the loudmouths. Gumbat Ali Ogly, chief of the instrument shop, is a veteran with 45 years' labor behind him. He told us how he and the workers threw out of the shop the uninvited guests who were calling on them to stop the machine tools.

"In our shop Azerbaijanis, Russians, and Armenians work side by side; in short, it is a real international collective, and we will not let anyone destroy our friendship."

On the way to the correspondents' center we stopped by in Lenin Square. Last night's camp fires are dying down. Small crowds of people gather around boards bearing the names of enterprises. The refrigerator plant, the radio plant, "Ulduz," the ship repair yard....

We approach a small group.

"Is your plant working?"

"No. And it will not work until they accept our demands."

"How many refrigerators have you failed to produce in the last few days?"

"About 14,000, I think," one of them replies. "But we will make up the lag, we will work around the clock, if they take our demands into account, just as we are now demonstrating around the clock."

A call to the plant clarifies the information we heard in the square: One conveyor is now working at full capacity, and everything is being done to enable the plant to reach its daily norm tomorrow. Surely this task is within the powers of this collective, which is famed throughout the republic.

According to the latest figures, the republic's enterprises are already in debt to the tune of R70 million worth of output. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the party organizations are taking every possible measure to rectify the situation.

Party activists are working among the masses. There are now many of them—party workers, veterans, members of the intelligentsia—in the seething square. It is impermissible to forget that we live in a multinational state. The Soviet Union is our common home. We must not allow situations to arise that could be a burden on restructuring—that is the position of Communists in the republican capital.

A difficult, but very necessary dialogue is in progress, a dialogue for the future.

Baku Official Denies 'Popular Front' Established
NC3011105288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] You will now hear an address by (Niyazi Karagashli), chairman of the Baku gorispolkom.

[Begin recording] Dear residents of Baku and esteemed listeners. The recent tension in Baku has been considerably reduced. Many establishments, high schools, and secondary schools have resumed their activities. Many of the motor transport (?units) and trade establishments in the city have resumed normal work. (?Water), electricity, and natural gas supplies [words indistinct] are being maintained without interruption.

Nevertheless, a number of difficulties still exist. We have taken many measures to remove the difficulties, and mobilized all forces to put them into effect.

I wish to take this opportunity to inform you that we will spare no effort in meeting the very justified demands of our people. I also wish to say that the Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet, and the government in Azerbaijan are making every effort to have these justified demands resolved.

It is now common knowledge that construction materials and machinery and mechanisms have been removed from the Tophana region, which our people regard as a natural pearl. Measures and [word indistinct] are being taken to restore Tophana to its original state.

Like the people of Azerbaijan, we too believe that Nagorno-Karabakh is a land which has belonged to our people and will continue to belong to our people. This land has produced great poets, writers, [word indistinct], scientists, and popular heroes in the past, and it will continue to do so in the future.

Mikhail Gorbachev's address at the USSR Supreme Soviet meeting on 26 November further strengthened [words indistinct]. This is because an appropriate reply was given to nationalist extremists. Furthermore, the fact that their objectives are inauspicious was registered.

Esteemed residents of Baku, some irresponsible individuals are spreading the rumor in the city that a (?new organization) known as the Popular Front has been established. These people are urging the workers to stay at home and calling on the students not to attend classes.

I wish to inform you that such an organizaation has not been officially registered. In view of this, do not comply with their strike calls. I urge you to be careful and act with caution and patience. I urge you to report to work and to continue your education. We hope that through our work the justified demands of our people will be fulfilled and the detestable extremists, who create discord among the people, will be punished. [end recording]

Veterans Aid Law Enforcement in Baku
PM2911153188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Major O. Vladykin as part of feature under the general heading: "Showing the Utmost Responsibility"]

[Text] Baku—On Sunday the republic newspapers published an appeal from war and labor veterans to the citizens and young people of Baku city. It contained these words: "In response to the illegal actions provoked by irresponsible nationalist elements, a curfew has been imposed in Baku, Nakhichevan, and Kirovabad. In our opinion, all of us must take the same attitude to this measure—it has been taken for the purpose of preventing possible grave consequences and ensuring order and tranquillity.

"...We urge you to display calm and prudence and not to destroy the foundations of good-neighborliness and friendship among all the peoples and nationalities living in our multinational Azerbaijan."

On the whole, the situation in the republic capital and the population's attitude to the Soviet Army and USSR MVD internal troop subunits introduced here convince us that many city people share the stand expressed by the veterans who signed the appeal. Major General B. Aleksandrov, deputy military commandant for political affairs of the Baku City Special Region, also confirmed this. He pointed out that, although the situation in the city remains complex and tense, trends toward its normalization have become apparent in recent days.

At the military posts standing in the squares, streets, and avenues and next to the most important state and administrative installations, I inquired about the nature of relations between the population and those who are

serving under the unusual conditions today. Practically all the officers and men spoke of the Baku residents' geniality and their understanding of the situation.

"Local residents see us as their protectors," Lieutenant I. Shikin, chief of a post on the road leading to the airport, said. "They state frankly that they are relying on the servicemen and counting on their preventing a repetition of the Sumgait events. They endeavor somehow to ease our difficult service here and bring us food, cigarettes, and even flowers."

Not far from the post I noticed a soldier standing surrounded by several civilians. I approached them and witnessed a meeting between Private E. Yusifov and his parents and other relatives. It turned out that Elchin is a Baku resident but serves far from his home city. Because of the uneasy circumstances he has unexpectedly ended up in Baku.

"How do you feel, being at home in such an unusual role?" I asked Elchin.

"Without my comrades and me, there might have been a disaster here. We are needed here, needed very badly. Anyway, over 18 months of service I have learned to carry out orders."

"Yes, these are swell guys who have come to Baku," Raya Cherkez-kyzy, the soldier's mother, chipped in to the conversation. "People are tired of the disturbances. Things have now become a little calmer."

"Only let our boys return to their military units as quickly as possible. I will, of course, be sad to take leave of my son, but it is better, all the same, that the need for him and his comrades should pass," Telman Ali-ogly, head of the family, said in expressing his viewpoint.

Hope for the speediest normalization of the situation... Many people in Baku are just living for it. I felt this particularly intensely at a reception for local residents held by Colonel A. Lebed, commandant of a Baku rayon. He holds two 2-hour daily receptions. It is chiefly persons of Armenian nationality who turn to the military administration for assistance. They are afraid that the continuing tension in interethnic relations could escalate into more acute manifestations.

Col Lebed deplores the fact that the local organs of power have gotten out of fulfilling their direct functions. It is no coincidence that people also take to the military commandant requests which, with the best will in the world, he is neither able nor empowered to resolve.

Even before the introduction of the special situation, the city's internationalist servicemen had decided to assume responsibility for maintaining order in the region of V.I. Lenin Square, which has become the place where crowds of demonstrators from all over the city have gathered and are continuing to gather. Hundreds of thousands of people have assembled there some days.

"We do not consider such things as strikes, boycotts, and endless rallies as the right way to resolve the accumulated problems," Reserve Senior Lieutenant Vasif Nadzhafov, holder of the Order of the Red Star and chairman of the republic council of internationalist servicemen, told me. "Nor do we share the conviction of those who see a negative attitude to another nation as a manifestation of national dignity and who consider the natural desire to resolve the question of Nagorno-Karabakh as almost the sole confirmation of patriotism. We have come to the square so that instigators cannot create disturbances. It so happened at first that there was no one to tackle this apart from us."

The "Afghans" are noticeable in V.I. Lenin Square. They have set up a kind of buffer between the troop cordon and the demonstrators. The overwhelming majority of them are Azerbaijanis. They explain to their fellow citizens in their native tongue the meaning of the special situation and the tasks of the troops in the city, contribute to mutual understanding, help to prevent provocations, inspect the bags and briefcases of people coming into the square in an endeavor to prevent the appearance of weapons, arrest persons who fan nationalist passions in the crowd, and hand them over to the militia, who have at last turned up here in sufficient numbers.

I saw men in construction detachment uniforms and with awards on their chests in other parts of the city too, next to military posts. Servicemen say that they receive considerable assistance from them.

Need To Combat Rumors in Baku Stressed

PM2911135988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 p 4

[Special correspondents A. Romanov, A. Teplyuk dispatch under general headline "Rumors and Facts. Our Special Correspondents Report From Baku and Yerevan"]

[Text] Baku—Every Baku inhabitant knows the name "Tyagunov" today. Mikhail Aleksandrovich Tyagunov is the military commandant. His signature features on the orders dictated by the conditions of the special situation.

The city is closed to vehicles from other cities. People detained with forged passes will be handed over to the investigative organs. Tyagunov appeals: Remain calm; do not succumb to provocations; do not believe rumors.

Alas, the rumors are greatly exacerbating the situation. What haven't we heard during the past few days! We heard about poisoned pies which a treacherous and invisible hand is offering soldiers and people who attend

rallies. We heard about a swindler who cunningly extorted R60,000 (no, R100,000) from gullible citizens for "the common cause." An old man called servicemen in the Dzerzhinskiy division to tell them that someone has marked the doors of the apartments of his compatriots in preparation for a pogrom. The soldiers checked it out. They found no markings in the apartment block. Rumors are the biggest da ger of all today, and therefore information about the situation in the city and the commandant's orders will be brodcast three times a day on television.

But that is not enough. The rumors get much greater "air time." In the square there is no shortage of vigilant young people who endlessly check our documents. Would it not be better to put up a reliable barrier to stop the spread of rumors? So far, within the framework of democracy, it is possible to confidently express any sort of supposition at a rally—for instance, to claim that the Sumgait criminals are being tried exclusively by Armenian ju ges....

The troops in Baku and in other hot spots are no excess.... Activists have handed leaflets to the soldiers calling on them not to succumb to possible provocations from extremist elements. However, it would probably have been more appropriate to address these appeals to the excessively excited section of Baku inhabitants. Some of the people we talked to were offended by the military presence: What do we need it for? People are calm here. However, in such an explosive situation no preventive measure is excessive. The gory lesson of Sumgait is still too fresh in our memories.

We had no problems in establishing contact with the military command. We were received by M.P. Kolesnikov, who had not slept for 4 days.

The station in question was located in the building of the party raykom. The servicemen have only been here for a few days, but they have managed to settle in. A portable radio transmitter was murmuring away in the corner. A central heating radiator had been converted into a rifle rack, the automatic rifles slotted neatly into the gaps between the radiator ribs. A young off-duty serviceman was chewing something as he walked along.... The servicemen are here to ensure that there is peace in Azerbaijan, to prevent people who want to save their stolen millions at any price, even the price of other people's blood, from sowing strife.

We talked to a detail in Borovskiy Settlement (people of several nationalities live here side by side, and in harmony as we were told). We asked: What will you do if (God forbid, of course) someone who has taken leave of his senses tries to encroach on the peace and calm of someone else's house? They explained to us: There is nothing complicated about our service. Essentially we have to patrol the whole area with which we have been entrusted. Any evildoer will be immediately discovered and neutralized.

The tireless Major Yuriy Kharchenko takes us further.

We pass a checkpoint. It is manned by Kherson Militia School cadets. Nothing out of the ordinary has happened over the past 24 hours. We turned back two trucks loaded with timber heading for Ploshchad Lenina. They did not have the requisite way-bills. A drunken hit-and-run driver was detained. A billy stick with a metal handle and a dubious slogan were confiscated.

Mikhail Aleksandrovich Tyagunov has told the inhabitants of the republic's capital: "I believe that the inhabitants of this traditionally international city will understand and support me."

Baku Citizens Instructed To Replace Passes

NC2911114188 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Notice from the office of the military commandant of Baku City special district]

[Text] The office of the military commandant of Baku City special district announces that for the purpose of improvi g arrangements regarding passes for the border of the Baku City special district, a planned replacement of passes will be carried out on 1 and 2 December. Passes currently in use are declared invalid as of 3 December. Baku citizens are reminded that passes for the movement of citizens and means of transport are issued only on the presentation of documents which certify the identity of the applicant and are valid throughout the territory of the city.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of Baku City special district.

Yerevan Radio Reports on Baku Situation

NC3011092388 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] At the request of an ARMENPRES correspondent, the Republic's representative has sent some information on the situation in Baku. According to the report, a few thousand people still remain during curfew hours in the square where meetings and rallies are held. Demonstrations continue in the city by the so-called Azerbaijan Popular (?Front). The [word indistinct] behavior toward other nationalities continues. The situation is still very tense in a number of cities and (?regions) in the Republic.

'Tense Situation' in Stepanakert Reported

LD2911155088 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Excerpts] The tense situation continues in Nagorno-Karabakh. Industrial enterprises and (?and public transport) are not working in the oblast.

The situation is particularly tense in Stepanakert. During an attempt to arrest a member of the Krunk Committee [movement declared illegal by the Azerbaijan Communist Party early this year, which continues to work within NKAO for union with Armenia] there was a clash between troops and the population, resulting in the wounding and hospitalization of nine citizens and one soldier. All the demonstrations by the population are being (?suppressed) by the troops. [passage omitted]

The houses built in [word indistinct] village were meant to provide temporary housing for (?Azeris whose homes were burned down) in Stepanakert. They have, instead, been used to house the Azeri families which have come to Karabakkh from Armenia. In the very same Azeri village, a branch of the Karabakh silk combine in Stepanakert is being built with astonishing speed and the construction of a 400-seat school building and public baths has begun. [passage indistinct]

The population of the oblast is unhappy with the central press and information media for their reporting on the situation in the oblast, for ignoring the just demands of the Armenian population and for [word indistinct] that offend its pride.

The Armenian population of the oblast regards the urgent removal of the oblast from Azerbaijan as the only way of solving the problem and believes in justice.

'Tense Situation' Reported in Baku, Yerevan

LD3011095188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the "Central Press Review"]

[Text] Correspondent reports from Yerevan and Baku are included in today's IZVESTIYA. It particularly reports that, as before, the majority of enterprises are working at less than half capacity.

The republic's newspaper KOMMUNIST publishes a statement by the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs which says that with the bringing in of troops, the total number of offenses in Yerevan has decreased. In the course of 4 nights, almost 1,800 people have been detained for being without passes.

The situation in several regions of Armenia has become acute. Everywhere people are first and foremost interested in what the situation is in Azerbaijan. The correspondents feel that not only is it necessary to find a way to improve the level of information to people regarding their neighbors' situation, but the most important thing is perhaps to start a dialogue. For the time being, unfortunately, practically the only source of information remains various rumors—the most unlikely rumors, but many people believe them. Indisputably, the absence of exact, timely information about the situation in both republics makes the situation much more complicated.

A tense situation also persists in Baku. In the statement of the military commandant of the special region [not further explained], it is said that three workers of the Baku refrigerator works have been arrested for distributing leaflets of an anti-Soviet and nationalist nature. Following the appeal of the military commandant, many inhabitants are voluntarily handing in weapons. In Kirovskiy Rayon in 1 day, 95 hunting guns and 12 knives were handed in. During the curfew period, a large number of citizens are being detained by military patrols, including people driving cars in an inebriated state. In connection with this, the sale of alcohol in the city has been forbidden in shops, restaurants, cafes, and bars.

Shaykh ul-Islam Allashukur Pashezade, the chairman of the spiritual administration of the Muslims of Transcaucasia, broke off his journey to India and returned to Baku. In his speech on the republic's television and in the press, he said that the sacred faith calls for spreading and strengthening peace, firmness, fairness, and respect for rights, and for eradicating treachery and perfidy in any of their manifestations. He called for the strict observance of the Constitution of the USSR and strongly creating amity between peoples.

Azerbaijani Official Decries 'Armenian Extremism'

NC2711123388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 26 Nov 88

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The Republic's newspapers continue to inform the people about the continuing meetings in Baku's Lenin Square. The reports particularly emphasize the sincere chats and exchanges of views Baku residents have been having with the Soviet troops, who are maintaining public order in the streets of the city because of the special situation.

Meanwhile, you can read about the interview KOMMUNIST held with (?Elchin), chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Cultural Relations and Homeland Society, on the fourth page of that newspaper. (?Elchin) described the just voice of the people and the demonstrations and meetings as a great popular movement. He said: The entire people, who have always been known for their composure, affability, and mildness, have arisen. Armenian extremism, which has continued during the past 11 months, is what has prompted our people to rise. It is common knowledge that the representatives of this extremist trend have infiltrated the leading party, soviet, and economic organs in Moscow, the Armenian SSR, and Nagorno-Karabakh. The disgusting activities of NKAO Obkom Secretary G.A. Pogosyan are actually an expression of a hard-line nationalist policy. The causes of the incidents which have angered our entire people are linked with this ignoble policy and its bitter results.

Resettlement Planned for Refugees From Armenia
NC2811140588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers has examined the question of resettling individuals of Azerbaijani origin who have arrived in Azerbaijan from the Armenian SSR. The gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, the land [word indistinct], and the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex were instructed to (?draw up plans) within a period of 10 days for the construction of individual houses for the families on the basis of [word indistinct] funds and by increasing (?housing areas) through the use of city, kolkhoz, and sovkhoz land.

The USSR savings bank branch and the republic's bank were instructed to make long-term loans available for the construction of living quarters for the citizens referred to.

The Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers and the rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms were instructed to urge the existing construction and restoration organizations to mobilize their forces for the construction of individual houses for the citizens in question in as short a time as possible.

The Republic's State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, Union of Consumers' Societies, Ministry of Trade, and Ministry of Construction Materials Industry were instructed to give first priority to allocating construction materials [words indistinct] in accordance with the requirements and create the conditions required for the construction of as many prefabricated houses as possible.

The Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers, the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, and the Republic's ministries and main administrations were instructed to treat the families referred to with a maximum degree of humanity, concern, and [word indistinct], see to it that they are given jobs and their children are placed in educational institutions and preschool training establishments, and ensure the required medical, cultural, and livelihood services are organized for them.

The leading officials of the local soviets of people's deputies executive committees were advised to supervise the implementation of the proposed measures personally every day.

Commission Set Up for Refugees From Azerbaijan
NC3011090788 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] At the initiative of the Armenian government, a commission for assisting refugees who have come to Armenia from Azerbaijan has been formed. The commission has a current account and a fund to which contributions are made by workers' collectives and individuals.

As pointed out by Narine Balayan, Armenian SSR minister of social security, during the meeting of the ministry's coordination committee with representatives of production organizations, it was decided to transfer R250,000 into the fund. In addition, workers of the coordination committee have decided to contribute a day's wages to the fund.

Refugee Influx 'Increasing Tension' in Armenia
PM2911143188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[IZVESTIYA special correspondents S. Bablumyan, M. Krushinskiy, and A. Protsenko report under the general heading: "Yesterday, 28 November": "Yerevan"]

[Text] The situation in Yerevan, just as throughout Armenia, is still quite complex. Let us recall that a curfew is in force in the capital and meetings, rallies, and demonstrations have been banned.

Yesterday, experts and representatives of Armenia's creative intelligentsia came to the troop subunits keeping order in the republic's capital to meet the officers and men.

"These meetings are extremely necessary," Colonel M. Surkov, member of the military council and chief of the Yerevan Garrison Political Department, stressed in an interview with republican television.

Early Monday morning public transport was restored to normal working order. We were told at the party gorkom that only a small proportion of workers have gone to work at industrial enterprises. The motives for refusing to work are the same as before. People's main demand is for the safety of the Armenian population in Azerbaijan to be guaranteed.

In the last week approximately 7,000 refugees have arrived in the republic. People have been accommodated in boarding houses or rest homes or with relatives. It must be noted that this is increasing tension in the region. In the last few days rallies have been held in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and other Armenian cities.

The situation is calm in Yerevan, but the city is still experiencing the same problems.

"We believe that the situation is finally being normalized," O. Daniyelyan, secretary of the Yerevan party gorkom, told us. "We have a right to expect the curfew to be observed as strictly in Baku, Kirovabad, and Nakhichevan as it is here in Yerevan. It is only by cooling down the seething passions that we can hope to restore people's normal life."

Komsomol Groups Offer Assistance to Refugees

NC3011104288 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Deep concern has recently been aroused among the republic's youths because of the oppression of Armenian residents in Azerbaijan. Many Komsomol organizations are undertaking to provide assistance to the victims. The Leninyan Komsomol Central Committee Bureau has decided to transfer R10,000 to the current account of the commission that is in charge of refugee matters.

Armenian, Azerbaijani Casualties Reported

NC3011091788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Report from the military commander's office]

[Text] During the curfew in Yerevan, the situation continues to be basically normal in the city. Unfortunately, some residents have violated the curfew. By 0600 on 29 November, during the entire time since the curfew was established in the city, 2,126 residents were arrested for curfew violations, of whom 27 were detained. Rallies and meetings have taken place in some cities of the republic during which (?information) [word indistinct]. The situation is still tense in a number of regions in the republic that have both Armenian and Azerbaijani residents. On the night of 28 November, conflicts took place on ethnic grounds in the Kalinino, (?Nugark), Idzhevan, and Noyemberyan areas. Because of acts of violence in all cases, both Armenians and Azerbaijanis were killed or wounded.

Yerevan GLASNOST Magazine Editor Arrested

LD2811214088 Hamburg DPA in Hamburg 2122 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The Moscow human rights campaigner and editor of the magazine "GLASNOST" Sergey Grigoryants was arrested today in the Armenian capital of Yerevan together with one of his colleagues. An editor of the magazine told the German press agency this evening that Grigoryants was arrested at around 1400 Moscow time.

Grigoryants maintains continual contacts in the republics and above all in the Caucasus. Among foreign correspondents he is regarded as a relatively reliable source of information, which becomes especially important when the central media in Moscow remain silent on events.

ARMENPRES Urges Against Retaliation

NC3011080288 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Yerevan, 28 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The republic's state agro-industry building is famous, not only because it is the center of Armenia's rural economy, but because the state commission in charge of the resettlement and rehabilitation of our compatriots from Karabakh is also based there. Hundreds of Armenians who have fled Baku and neighboring areas have been added to the many refugees from Sumgait. Members of the commission who deal with issues concerning the people to be resettled begin on their heavy workload in the morning. We saw elderly people, newlyweds, students, and children in the queue.

Asked why they left their native place, they all answer: "We were helped by the recent violent incidents in Baku." The people who arrive here say: "The terror of the Sumgait tragedies increased with the endless rallies and marches, during which physical threats were made against the Armenians and, especially, against their children, who are afraid to attend school because they will be beaten up." They show us letters addressed to the Armenians. The letters are handwritten by children and are full of threats and insults. But, in fact, they express the views of older people and demand that the Armenians leave the republic immediately.

After talking to the refugees and reading the demands, you begin to feel the heavy atmosphere that has now cast its shadow on Baku, where one thought that there existed a strong internationalist tradition. It is clear, however, that the representatives of the various nationalities now have to write and speak only in Azeri, otherwise they will be fired and deprived of their livelihood.

There are many reports that not only Armenians, but also Russians, Jews, and other nationalities are leaving Baku.

"Threats of vengeance still echo in our ears," says university graduate A. Petrosyan. "Is this not the way in which the Sumgait incidents started? There were many nights that we did not sleep. We prepared ourselves, in every way, to confront provocations. We even put the children to bed with their clothes on. In the spring I was preparing for my degree. We drove to Georgievsk city in Stavropol Kray. I was to prepare my paper there. But my professor in Baku refused to comment on my paper and did not attend the state commission meeting. I handed my paper in somehow. But my friend who is an Armenian and who was an honor student for 5 years was disqualified. There is only one Armenian lecturer left in the entire university, and that is because he is an expert on communist ideology. When moral suppression is coupled with overt fanaticism; when they can insult you and beat you up only because you speak in your mother tongue; then you get a situation which goes against human nature. Obviously, it is unfortunate that we have had to leave the place where we were born. It is hard to realize that we have become refugees in a soviet country where so much is being done for the human being. My father worked for over 43 years in the "Azelectric" union. But now they have fired him without any notice."

"I was head welder at the Transcaucasus Pipe Industry," adds R. Nersisyan. "There are people of a dozen nationalities in our collective, with only a few Azerbaijanis. But, acting on orders, they started to fire us, harass us, and deprive us of our paycheck and bonuses. Acts of violence then followed. We left. We are in Yerevan now. I would like to apply for a loan from the Abovyan region, where I will be working. I would like to use the loan to build a house there. They say that this facility exists for the people from Sumgait. Perhaps they will extend this facility to include the resettlers from Baku too."

Grigor Grigoryan was a taxi driver in Baku.

"I was born in Baku and have lived there all my life. One day I had four passengers in the taxi. On the way to the station, they started to insult the Armenians. Then they asked me: 'What is your nationality?' I said that it should not make any difference to the passengers what my nationality is. They insisted that I answer. They said that since I did not reply, I must be an Armenian. Then fist fighting broke out in the car. The one sitting next to me hit me. One of those sitting in the back tried to strike me with a knife. I stopped the car and told the passengers to get out. The one with the knife came out of the car and tried to get at me again. I grabbed a rod. During the uproar, the militia arrived. They took us to the regional section of the militia. There they told me: 'You are killing the Azerbaijanis there—in Armenia. Do we have to deal with you here too? Go to the taxi station and we will deal with the passengers.' I had not gone very far when I saw the passengers leaving the center with smiles on their faces. They had been given permission to perpetrate more crimes.

"A similar assassination attempt was carried out against my colleague, who had to leave for Krasnodar. It is impossible to hide the fact that the Armenians in Azerbaijan are being suppressed in every way and that their lives are threatened.

"But what we have said should not inflame feelings and lead to acts that can cast a shadow on the Armenians and on the people's internationalist feelings. I strongly urge that we do not respond to any provocation. No one should stain the conscience of our people, who have always believed in peace and justice."

G. Grigoryan is right. It is regrettable that in some places certain hotheaded provocateurs have resorted to acts which can only discredit us. Our people should not resort to any violent act on the grounds of ethnic hostility. Yes, in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Azerbaijani extremist, ethnic fanatic, and hooligan elements attacked a train. But that does not, in any way, call for retaliation. We do not have the right to allow any uncivilized act.

The Armenian government has agreed to accept Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan and to give them employment. They are being housed in guest houses, student hostels, and hotels. Some R1.7 million have been allocated as preliminary assistance. The commission is receiving voluntary contributions from workers' collectives, public organizations, and individuals.

[Signed] Ruben Karagyozyan, Boris Kyuffar, and Artem Shabazyan—ARMENPRES correspondents.

Armenian Bureau Examines 'Dangerous Situation'

NC3011085888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The newspaper reports that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau met to examine the situation in the Republic and ways to set it in order. According to a decision agreed on by the bureau, an extremely dangerous situation, which may have grave consequences, has been created in the Republic. Frequent conflicts are taking place on ethnic grounds in areas that have both Armenian and Azerbaijani residents. In [name indistinct], (?Kalimino), Goris, Sevan, Vardenis, Stepanavan, and a number of other areas (?conflicts) have taken place between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. There have been killed and wounded.

The exacerbation of the situation has led to an intensive (?movement) of residents from Azerbaijan to Armenia and vice versa. By 29 November the number of people arriving in Armenia from Azerbaijan had reached 19,800.

The Central Committee decision points out that despite the curfew, the situation in Yerevan remains tense. [Word indistinct] are still not operating. On 25 November, [word indistinct] and particularly (?61) production centers were not operating.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau pointed to the insufficient work being done by party gorkoms, raykoms, basic party organizations, soviets of peoples' deputies, and justice bodies toward the normalization of the situation.

The newspaper has published a report on the bureau's session.

Yerevan Beset by Curfew, Rumors, Strikes

PM2911141788 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 p 4

[Special correspondents G. Ivanov-Smolenskiy, V. Umnov dispatch under general headline "Rumors and Facts. Our Special Correspondents Report from Baku and Yerevan"]

[Text] Yerevan—The diesel locomotive resembles an armored train that has just emerged from an artillery barrage. However, this is not a museum piece. A few

days ago the diesel locomotive left for the Nakhichevan's Norashen station to fetch some freightcars which had got stuck there. It was greeted with a hail of stones. And so it stands here now, having returned without the cars.

In the Yerevan University hostel we were surrounded by young people, heatedly discussing the latest developments. Some of them were saying:

"People were killed there!"

"Killed? Did you yourselves see it?.."—we asked.

"No, we ourselves did not see anyone being killed. But acquaintances have told us..."

Alas, this is not the first time we have had occasion to see an old saying come true—public consciousness cannot tolerate a vacuum. And if the press is silent or does not speak out loud and clear—the "bush telegraph" of rumor and hearsay immediately steps in and offers its services. And, incidentally, not just the "bush" telegraph. Near our hotel people are thronging the steps of the Telegraph Office from morning till evening in an effort to reach relatives in Baku, Nakhichevan, and Kirovobad by telephone. We saw a slightly smaller but just as agitated a crowd in front of the window of an ordinary store where two small leaflets were on display. They contained the latest up-to-the-hour reports on the situation in Kirovabad which included all the details that are alarming people. The leaflets were not signed by the ARMENPRESS agency or the Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs, but by...the "Karabakh" committee.

When we report earthquakes or other natural calamities we think it perfectly normal to add at the end "There are no casualties or material damage" or whatever the case may be. Yet suddenly we have felt shockwaves which do not come from below the ground, social shockwaves... and we have forgotten that in addition to the global "problems of interethnic relations" people also have children, parents, and brothers and sisters, and that they all have a right to, that they all simply must know the whole truth every day.

A curfew is in operation in Yerevan. You must carry your passport day and night. These rigorous demands have been scrupulously observed by the inhabitants of Yerevan during the past few days. Judge for yourself. In a city with a population of 1.3 million only 400 people and 22 cars were detained during the first full night.

As distinct from nighttime, when the curfew applies, the city's streets are busy during the day, but just as calm. Right opposite the window of the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent's office there is a hairdresser's. Every day the barbers are busily at work. On Sunday consumer goods stores did a brisk trade.

Incidentally, we would not be telling the truth if we wrote that the curfew stipulations have been observed 100 percent during the past few days. Despite a ban on strikes many Yerevan enterprises did not operate Friday. Yesterday at 1300 hours we telephoned O.D. Daniyelyan, secretary of the party gorkom.

"The situation at industrial enterprises," he told us, "remains tense. Even where people arrived at plants and factories essentially no work was done. Only 70 food industry and continuous operation enterprises, public transport, and stores were operating."

Immediately after this conversation we drove to the "Masis" footwear association, which is probably the best known Armenian enterprise in the country.

"As you can see," Director R.S. Arutyunyan gestured, "the association is not operating and has not been for almost a week. By the beginning of November alone we had run up a shortfall of 451,000 pairs of shoes in deliveries to allied enterprises against the annual plan of 19.6 million pairs. We have tried more than once to persuade our people to take up work again. Only today I managed to get 1,500 people together. They ask me: 'Why is there a curfew?' Others are suggesting: 'Let's refuse to work until it is lifted.' I believe this is the wrong approach. If we work and complete order reigns then the curfew, too, will be lifted."

The mood among the city's inhabitants is restless. The refugees who continue to arrive in the Armenian capital from other cities add to the agitation. A special commission has registered the arrival of 2,932 refugees during the past week. Initially they are being housed in the Gosagroprom building and efforts are made to make them as comfortable as possible. Nonetheless, it is not difficult to guess what these people must be thinking. It is part of human nature for everyone to want their own home and a decent life.

Restricted Entry, Strikes Characterize Yerevan

PM2911130788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
29 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar as part of feature under the general heading: "To Display the Greatest Responsibility"]

[Text] Yerevan—The situation remains tense today, but the streets are outwardly calm. The stores are open. The majority of public transport is operating. The introduction of a curfew has made a considerable contribution to this.

What are servicemen doing these days?

"The chief thing today is to maintain public order and protect the population from the provocative actions of extremist elements," Lieutenant General V. Samsonov,

the city's military commandant, said. "Entry to Yerevan is restricted. Persons with city passes and also those on official business are exceptions. But, despite this, the flow of vehicles at the entrances to the city is not diminishing. They are all examined. Of course, militia details are not able to cope with this. Servicemen are helping. More than 10 units of firearms and cold weapons, a home-made mine, and hundreds of cartridges have been confiscated in recent days."

The majority of the city's enterprises are on strike, and only those where the production cycle is continuous are working.

Senior officials of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the gorkom spend most of their time in plants, among people. They are explaining the situation which has taken shape in the republic. A number of articles in republic newspapers and television programs are also devoted to this.

The leaders of "Karabakh" are not dozing either. Leaflets calling for the strikes to continue are being distributed in the city.

Television Report Updates Yerevan Situation

LD2811212788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent B. Batalov, identified by screen caption, reports from Yerevan on 28 Nov—recorded]

[Text] A curfew is being maintained in Yerevan. But the tense atmosphere is created not only by the presence of soldiers and military equipment on city streets. Many schoolchildren do not go to classes and students stay away from the lecture halls. [video shows street scenes; a tank in a park]

It is Monday but the beginning of the work week has been wrecked. In the town's party committee we were told that the majority of industrial enterprises did not open, and in those places where employees showed up they did not work. The issue remains the same: the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh. Incidentally, this year losses caused by the strikes have reached tens of millions of rubles. Party organ workers have been working hard in the past few days. They meet with the people, call on them to resume work, try to dispel rumors and conjecture, and to return life to normal. [video shows street scenes and empty enterprise gatehouse]

From Zvartnots Airport a group of Armenian deputies has taken a routine flight to Moscow to attend the USSR Supreme Soviet session. [video shows aircraft; Batalov addresses a man in overcoat and fur hat] What requests are you taking with you to the USSR Supreme Soviet session?

[P.M. Davtyan, team leader, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy] There are many requests, indeed. I think a deputy should be free of other duties and work freely with people to deal with state issues.

[Batalov] Besides that I presume you are thinking a lot about what has been happening in Armenia in the past few months and are also bringing those thoughts to the session.

[Davtyan] Yes, that is true. It has been very difficult over the past 8 or 9 months. The republic, on the whole, is going through a very difficult phase. As a worker, deputy, Armenian, and man, I would like to solve this question. [points to a young woman standing nearby] (Khazal) thinks so, too, though she does not speak Russian very well. She told me in Armenian, however, that this problem must be solved at the session.

[Khazal] Yes, this problem must be solved. [video shows group at airfield]

[Batalov] The anxiety voiced by Khazal Yegiazaryan, a farm worker from Artashat Rayon, is predominant today among the citizens of Yerevan and the majority of Armenians. Unfortunately, it is being stirred up by a host of rumors coming from Nakhichevan and Kirovabad as many people have relatives and friends there. [video shows group of people; two women in the group talking to correspondent]

The public telephone center at the central telegraph office is overflowing. This is not surprising because the only direct-dial telephone linking Kirovabad and Yerevan—the only one in this city with its 1 million population—is situated there. Perhaps if there were more such telephones people would be getting more information and would have fewer reasons to worry.

Veteran Decries National Demagogues, Extremists

PM2911132388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Article by Riza Khalid, writer and participant in the Great Patriotic War: "It Must Be Stated Bluntly and Honestly"; this is part of feature under the general heading "To Display the Greatest Responsibility"]

[Text] It was a long time ago that I took off my army greatcoat—a concomitant of anxieties. But, as a retired officer, as a writer, and, finally, as a citizen, I am not just interested in what is now happening in the Transcaucasian and Baltic republics but concerned and alarmed by it. Demagogues, political adventurers, and other irresponsible people have turned up there who, despite the Leninist party's reasonable appeal to resolve the urgent problems of interethnic relations by common efforts on the paths of restructuring, are trying to use glasnost and

democracy to fuel tension and national dissension, and are seeking to put confusion, and ideas and views that are alien to them, into the minds of fellow citizens .

The matter has reached the point where even certain representatives of authority have succumbed to the influence of demagogic statements and inflammatory shouts, and yet the majority of them are Communists. I believe that this alone can account for the recent unprecedented instance in Estonia, when the republic Supreme Soviet adopted a law and a declaration which do not accord with the USSR Constitution or USSR laws. And it is not a question of details but of fundamental questions affecting the fate of our union.

What have the Estonian comrades hit upon? They are essentially proposing to revise the fundamental socialist principles of our federation and ownership relations, and are demanding the restoration of private property. It is reasonable to recall that our country's peoples, including the best sons of the Estonian people, rose to the revolution 7 decades ago precisely in order to end forever the exploiters' oppression, and to make labor free under the Leninist party's leadership. The Soviet people chose the path of socialism and will never turn from it!

The hasty anticonstitutional decisions adopted in Estonia do not stand up to criticism. The 26 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session made a clear, well-reasoned, and unambiguous assessment of them and deemed them unlawful.

The fact remains: The absolute majority of Soviet people are in favor of restructuring and democracy, but they demand that the demagogues, political speculators, and extremists be stopped.

Restructuring is tearing and will tear the masks from the faces of those who only recently were coming out loudly in its support while, in fact, as we now see, pursuing mercenary, egoistic, clan interests. They are speculating on our past mistakes and our real difficulties, stoking interethnic friction, and encouraging legal nihilism and nationalist sentiments. Things have reached the point where adventurers and provocateurs are trying in a number of regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia to organize riots which pose a danger to society. Political adventurers and the people following them—willingly or not—are essentially encroaching upon the chief thing: on what has been created with the great labor, sweat, and blood of all generations of Soviet people, on the friendship, mutual understanding, and mutual respect of the peoples inhabiting our unified multinational motherland and our common home—the Soviet Union.

Chauvinism, nationalism, and the desire to emphasize superiority over someone of a different nationality are the worst things that can exist in people. The entire force of both persuasion and the law must be used today to explain this to those who have been led along by political adventurers, and their inflammatory activity must be resolutely suppressed.

Something else is important too. Regrettable though it may be, the present events have revealed that political and cadre work has been relaxed in a number of regions, while in some places it has simply been fouled up. Despite everything, certain party and soviet workers locally have found themselves lagging behind events and have lost the initiative. This must be stated bluntly and honestly, but chiefly the work must be tackled vigorously. Extremists cannot be allowed to parasitize on restructuring.

Readers' Letters Criticize Baltic 'Extremists'

PM2811163388 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 November 1988 in its First Edition carries on page 1 under the general heading "Democracy and Responsibility" a roundup of readers' letters on the unrest in the Baltic region. The roundup is preceded by an editorial commentary, which reads in full as follows:

"Openness, glasnost, pluralism of opinions.... You will agree that until quite recently these words were unfamiliar to our ears, and if they were sometimes used it was nothing more than for show. Today, however, the processes of the democratization of our society are becoming the norm of life.

"The enhancement of the working people's political activeness—that is the real and tangible result of the years of restructuring which we have lived through since April 1985 and the 27th party congress. The 19th all-union party conference, which was held before the eyes of the whole people, set an example of openness and glasnost and offered a comparison and, at time, direct confrontation of positions and opinions. Its decisions are supported by the overwhelming majority of Soviet people and are now finding real embodiment in practice. An example of that is Soviet citizens' active and interested discussion of the draft Laws "On Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law)" and "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies", and the mature and responsible approach to the problems of the further improvement of society on a socialist basis, the renewal of the political system, and the building of a rule-of-law state. The latest example of that is provided by the numerous readers' letters which KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has published during the discussion of the draft laws.

"But, of course, it cannot be claimed that the process of democratization in the country is running smoothly, as it were, and without hitches.

"We are all studying democracy today. And, as in any form of study, there are, unfortunately, the inevitable disruptions, mistakes, hasty and sometimes obviously incorrect decisions, and often even ill-considered actions.

"These days people are calling the editorial office to ask: 'What is happening in Estonia?' 'Why are you keeping silent about what is happening in Riga and Vilnius?' The editorial office is also receiving letters asking those questions.

"Yes, we are all watching with interest and alarm the events taking place in some parts of the country. Everything connected with the friendship and unity of the Soviet peoples and their interethnic relations is particularly close to our heart. We say: 'The USSR is our common home.' We are putting that home in order today because we have to live and work in it. And people have begun to renovate that home, often not within the framework of orders from above. In the Baltic republics, for example, social movements have emerged and people's fronts have been created in support of restructuring. Their attractiveness lies in the experience of democratic initiatives which they are gaining. But let us be frank, certain extremes have been appearing in their activity.

"Today we publish a letters section comprising letters from readers in the Baltic region. They may seem one-sided, but the editorial office simply hasn't received any others. And anyway, do we have the right to ignore these opinions at a time of glasnost? Especially since 'there is no room for them in the republic newspapers,' as M. Korsunskiy from Tallinn writes.

"'The word "democracy," ' M. Korsunskiy says at the end of his letter, 'should always be accompanied by the word "responsibility." Democracy without responsibility may even be transformed into an evil. After all, the diktat, pressure, and violence which are appearing in the activity of some leaders of fronts are clearly not in keeping with the decisions of the 19th party conference, under whose banner they claim to be struggling.'

"That is a reasonable point from our reader."

"A Common Home

"I have read and heard quite a few interesting proposals and comments during discussion of the draft laws. These include some which we have not perhaps always been accustomed to, and which sometimes generate doubts and dispute. But perhaps the main thing that has united them in terms of ideas and spirit is their constructiveness and desire to firmly establish restructuring and render it irreversible.

"We ought to rejoice, as it were. But there is something distressing here: Some people have recently been trying in the name of pluralism to insinuate downright dubious ideas into Soviet laws. The 'gentlemen' from the Duma of the People's Front of Latvia ('gentlemen' is how they addressed one another at their inaugural forum) propose, as reported by the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH on 10 November, to establish that voters may participate in elections only at their place of permanent residence. People temporarily absent from their permanent residence may vote by post or other means. To make everything absolutely clear, an explanation follows as to why this is necessary. In view of the fact that military units are formed from representatives of union republics and their presence on the territory of individual union republics is temporary (?), it is to be established that servicemen belonging to troop units only participate in elections of the Soviet of the Union in special electoral okrugs.

"Extract From Letters

"I am convinced that this idea is essentially anticonstitutional. And not to say so publicly is tantamount to tacit support.

"Captain First Rank, Retired, V. Gavrilov.

"Riga.

"Where are we heading? I think that the Baltic republics have been overwhelmed by a wave of nationalism and extremism. The feeling is being created that the republics' authorities are beginning to lose control over events and are actually following in the informal associations' wake.

"Everyone is keen on rallies and demonstrations, and young people and even schoolchildren are being actively involved. The range of goods in the stores is declining. What is the reason for this? You cannot help thinking that the recently created Popular Front of Latvia has wittingly or otherwise helped revive the nationalism, which is assuming increasingly sinister forms.

"V. Lyubimtsev, veteran of the Great Patriotic War.

"Rezekne.

"We get the impression that something worse than Sumgait is brewing here. Time and again you come across anti-Russian and anti-Soviet manifestations. Slogans of the type "Lithuania for the Lithuanians" and "Lithuania without the Russians" speak volumes.

"Reserve Major Yu. Pavlov.

"Kaunas."

The final item is from reserve Junior Sergeant Viktor Nugis, a worker at a Tallinn jewelry works, and is carried under the headline "My Viewpoint." He writes:

"During the Great Patriotic War years the call 'Communists, advance!' would often ring out before battle. That was their main privilege. Their duty to the party and the people placed them in the front ranks. My father—who became a Communist in 1943 and was a battery commander— was in those ranks. Mom still has his orders won in the front line—he is no longer alive. I am convinced: Today, too, he would have stood upright and won over the weak and confused. It is my deeply held conviction that the current situation in our republic demands this from each person who considers himself a party man not by dint of membership but from conviction and calling.

"Restructuring is developing in Estonia's cities and villages just as it is across the whole country. A Popular Front has been created and is operating in support of it. People have received many of the provisions in its program with approval. Indeed, there is an urgent need for resolute changes in the most varied spheres of life: the economy, culture, and environmental protection. It is necessary to resolve a number of vital social problems and to enhance the role of the Soviets. Initiative, creativity, and the consolidation of all the working people in the republic must serve the cause of restructuring. But here is an alarming fact: Against the background of these transformations, various people have been, increasingly often and increasingly openly, making their presence felt—people whose activity, by all accounts, is motivated essentially not by the desire to actually help restructuring and achieve the real changes which all our multinational people are waiting for, but by personal ambitions and selfish interests.

"At rallies and discussions they make a fuss about glasnost and democracy, but at the same time demonstrate their own complete lack of the basic standard of political debate, or ability to hear out people with views different from theirs. They put forward slogans and proposals almost in the form of an ultimatum. For some reason or other they had to drag their antiquated talismans and symbols out of their dilapidated old trunks.

"Now everyone arriving in our republic can see the so-called Estonian national flag in the streets, on cars, and in stores. Some citizens flaunt it in the form of badge which they wear. But does that mean that all Estonians approve of this 'innovation' which has been put forward as one of the first initiatives of individual activists of the People's Front? By no means all of them, I think.

"The black, blue, and white flag was the symbol of bourgeois Estonia. The system which once existed in our country was resolutely rejected by the workers and peasants who, with weapons in their hands, opposed the oppression of our own exploiters 70 years ago. That uprising was quelled. At the end of the last war bourgeois nationalists, who had killed not only their ideological enemies— the Communists—but also those who dared to recognize Soviet power, committed atrocities under that very flag. Even earlier than that they obsequiously gave the fascist salute and served another flag—one bearing the sinister swastika. During the occupation of Estonia the Hitlerites rarely sullied their own hands with blood. They had enough henchmen for that among the detachments formed from Estonian nationalists. Those fanatics have on their conscience tens of thousands of innocent people—women, children, and the old, Estonians among them—who were tortured in the concentration camps and cells.

"Furthermore, the demand is being made that all, and I emphasize this word, all those who were resettled and subjected to repression during the period of the personality cult be rehabilitated, and that they be compensated for the material harm they suffered. But the problem is that in the postwar period a fierce struggle raged in our country, and it was an armed struggle, furthermore. My father was shot by his cousin, a fascist and a nationalist. There were people then who helped that poor excuse for a 'fighter.' In my view, blanket rehabilitation, without a reinvestigation of all the circumstances, would be as unjust as the mass punishment of the guilty and the innocent, as happened during the years of the Stalinist repressions. It is necessary to avoid extremes and essentially to avoid a repetition of the mistakes of past years."

"However, just try to express your opinion frankly, and immediately you hear some 'activists' say: You are a 'Stalinist' and a 'stick in the mud.' Insults and labels are also methods used by these Popular Front 'activists.' Their slogan is: 'Those who are not with us are enemies of Estonia.' There can be no question of a pluralism of opinions under these conditions. For example, in August those selfsame people demanded that the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers leave office in 2 months because, they claimed, he was a 'stick in the mud.' In actual fact he had ventured to express disagreement with certain guidelines put forward by leaders of the Popular Front. I thought, still with a smile at that time: 'They are just impetuous kids not yet out of short pants.' And what happened next? At the beginning of November it was announced in the republic that Comrade B. Saul, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, had been released from his post at his own request. Pretty tough, the short pants that those 'tailors' from the Popular Front make.

While making capital out of the mistakes of past years, and proclaiming the superiority of native Estonians over other people living in the republic, these characters are becoming increasingly peremptory in tone. If something displeases them, they immediately issue a categorical 'demand' or 'warning.' I, for example, was amazed and angered by the speech made on Estonian radio on 2 November by M. Lauristin, a leader of the Popular Front. Taking part in the 'Antenna' program, she stated that if Moscow does not remove from nationwide discussion the draft law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution, 'we shall be forced to declare our withdrawal from the USSR.' Who is this 'we?' And who permitted her to broadcast on behalf of the entire Estonian people?

"Such irresponsible statements only expose the bankruptcy of the figures thrusting themselves forward as the latterday 'leaders,' and the blatant attempt to 'suppress' and 'ban.' They do not even balk at attempts to embroil youngsters in their exhorbitant demands. Republic television news showed on 9 November how kids signed 'protests' against the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution proferred by their 'uncles' and 'aunts.' How can 9-12-year-olds judge if even the vast majority of adults with whom they converse on the draft law do not, as it turned out, have a thorough knowledge of its content. People simply heard a lot of shouting and irresponsible statements and lost their sense of reality and common sense.

"And it is precisely common sense, responsibility, and a sense of reality that are required of us all today. Glasnost and democracy do not mean total license. It is time to shift from rally-based democracy to the specific work of realizing the goals and tasks of restructuring by dint of concerted effort.

"Viktor Nugis, reserve junior sergeant and worker at Tallinn Jewelry Works."

Estonian Komsomol Walkout Blocks Changes

PM2311160188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 p 2

[Report by own correspondent I. Teterin: "Extraordinary Plenum"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents' center is receiving numerous telephone calls. People ask the same question: What happened at the last Estonian Komsomol Central Committee plenum? Some make guesses: "Did it all really end in a split?" Others ask: "Why hide from us that the Komsomol is coming apart? There is no clarity in the newspapers!"

Tallinn—What Has Happened in the Estonian Komsomol?

I was surprised to discover that rumors about the extraordinary Estonian Komsomol Central Committee plenum had spread even beyond the republic. I was recently woken at night by a telephone call from an acquaintance in a distant Siberian city. And it was the same "insidious" question—what has befallen your Komsomol?

This year the republic has seen a veritable explosion of political activity in its life among all strata of the population. At hundreds of meetings and gatherings people have begun discussing ways of further developing the economy, carrying out political reforms, and improving relations within the union. The Estonian people's national self-awareness has grown dramatically. New social movements—the Popular Front, the international movement, the "greens".... Rallies drawing together hundreds of thousands of people have ceased to be an object of wonder.

And the Komsomol? How did it determine its general line in the new conditions? Alas, it did so in the old way for the most part. And that began to provoke quite understandable censure from young people. Membership of the republic Komsomol organization has declined by almost 15,000 in a year. Some people have started talking about a deep crisis in the republic youth organization. And that is also understandable. An abundance of informal youth associations, political clubs, and all kinds of initiative groups have sprung up everywhere in the republic. And they have stopped joining the traditional Komsomol organization and have not, as a rule, limited themselves to [zamykalis na] the working apparatus of the central committee and local committees.

It is clear to everyone now that the Komsomol needs restructuring, real restructuring, with a drastic change in its work style and methods.

A new first secretary took charge of the republic Komsomol organization at this difficult time. I feel I should stress that the leader of the Estonian Komsomol was elected for the first time by a truly democratic method. Thirteen candidates for the post were initially put forward, subsequently reduced to three. Each candidate published an election manifesto in the press. Urmas Laanem was voted in as first secretary.

Even prior to his election victory, 32-year-old Urmas stated: "I consider that organizational and material autonomy in the Komsomol must be devolved to local level. A republic law on young people based on the union republic's specific features must be drafted." Here he stressed: "I really do think that we are today electing a leader on whom we will immediately be making very serious demands, more serious than ever before."

And that is just what happened.

What does every new first secretary start with? As a rule, he initially chooses a reliable apparatus "team." But Urmas Laanem was faced with a far more complex task. It was no mere whim but a requirement dictated by life itself—that of fundamentally altering the Central Committee structure and almost halving its apparatus.

At the same time the concept of organizational and ideological restructuring of Komsomol work had to be submitted for general consultation. There was no lack of suggestions. They had already long been debated in the newspapers and at various discussion meetings. Some people suggested the idea of setting up a Youth Political Organization, others were more attracted by the idea of a kind of youth "parliament" under the republic Supreme Soviet. Urmas Laanem reduced the various

ideas to a common denominator when he expressed himself quite clearly in the following terms: "We need a strong political youth league."

But the problem was that the situation in the republic had drastically altered by that time. To repeat a certain cliche, tension had arisen in interethnic relations. Although, truth to tell, the problem was not in the actual relations among people of different nationalities, but in the political stratification of society. How did this happen?

Two concepts of the republic's further social development clashed in furious dispute and discussion. The first envisaged the achievement of maximum administrative autonomy, the introduction of territorial economic accountability, the establishment of local citizenship, and the establishment of Estonian as the state language. The indigenous inhabitants of the republic voted for this concept wholeheartedly. But those who had come to the republic from other regions of the country objected that such a route was dubious.

Some of the Russian-speaking population saw no special problem in an economy closely tied to union departments. The Language Law recently submitted for general discussion generated additional discontent. The Russian-speaking population considered this draft all but discriminatory.

A line of social confrontation was drawn up. And it was merely expanded by the new movements, whose leaders got into a lather, began to lose all sense of proportion, and pinned labels on one another ranging from "Stalinists" and "stagnationists" to "nationalists" and "separatists." Does it need to be said that young people, too, were involuntarily embroiled in this process of confrontation?

In short, the Komsomol set about clarifying its future course at a very difficult time for Estonia.

The Estonian Komsomol Central Committee Bureau sat for a whole day. And it was the Bureau that revealed for all to see the serious contradictions existing between the representatives of different city and rayon Komsomol organizations, in some of which Russians were numerically superior, in others Estonians.

The Komsomol's future structure was argued. Estonians insisted that the reorganization of the Central Committee apparatus must involve reducing the number of secretaries to four, thereby axing the post of second secretary, who traditionally represents the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee in the republic Komsomol. The Russians were prepared for any alteration in its structure provided only that it was mandatory for their national representative to be a secretariat member. In so doing they expressed their full confidence in Nikolay Sharov, who had been sent to the republic 2 years earlier and elected second secretary. As a result a decision was taken to convene an extraordinary plenum of the republic Komsomol Central Committee to resolve the prevailing contradictions by democratic means.

The very word "extraordinary" itself set many people to serious thinking. What lies behind this term "extraordinary"? Has confrontation inside the Komsomol really gone so far, and will it not lead to unforeseen consequences? And when the newspaper MOLODEZHNAYA ESTONIYA published an interview with Kalle Isand, first secretary of Tallinn's Leninskiy Komsomol Raykom, matters took a serious turn.

I think that the newspaper acted correctly in bringing out the full implications of the official report on the upcoming plenum. It would have been dishonest and plain immoral to conceal the disagreements among Central Committee members from ordinary Komsomol members in this situation. The situation in the youth league was too serious. This is how Kalle Isand commented on it in his interview: "It is too late to talk about the threat of a split: It has already happened. What happened at the Bureau has merely graphically illustrated this." Addressing the republic's readers, Kalle Isand openly suggested that the disagreements might even result in two political youth organizations, split predominantly on national lines, just within Estonia.

The interview had the impact of an exploding bomb. After its publication thousands of young people became really aware of the threat of a split. There was a surge of meetings in Komsomol organizations, and plenums took place in some cities. Komsomol members in Kokhtla-Yarve, for example, peremptorily summoned Urmas Laanem to them for a discussion. And when he arrived in the mining city, the square displayed banners reading "No Split in the Komsomol!" and "We Trust Sharov!"

The plenum was now really inevitable, and its extraordinary character predetermined.

The Art of the Possible and...the Impossible

Wise people say that politics is the art of the possible.

Now, with hindsight, when I recall that mad day full of fiery speeches and categorical judgments, I think that the Komsomol plenum was doomed to fail from the very outset. A meeting of the party ideological aktiv, attended by V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was held in Tallinn the day before. The main idea expressed there was that the republic had to consolidate all social forces to stabilize the course of restructuring.

But incomprehension running into open hostility ruled there, in that comfortable conference hall, behind, what is more, closed doors. Examining my notebook, I try to extract grains of constructive proposals from the speeches made by plenum participants. There are few, miserably few of them, compared with the emotions

which poured into the auditorium through the microphone. At the same time discussion of the chief and most substantial matter—ways of further restructuring Komsomol work, as required by the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress—was muffed, crushed, and submerged in a welter of personal grievances and ambition.

Yes, real politics really is the art of the possible. But it becomes this only by virtue of collective reason that is capable of making compromises. But the plenum participants did not wish to acknowledge compromises.

Here are a few speeches in summary form.

Urmas Laanem, first secretary of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee:

"Today we must seriously decide where we are to go now. History has given us a chance. We must clearly define the role and place of the youth league in the republic's political system. It is clear to everyone now that we cannot do without an extraordinary congress. But in order to bring real proposals to it, we have, above all, to alter the structure of the Central Committee. We need an apparatus which is in a position to do a lot of serious work. They must be responsible people who can revive young people's faith in their organization."

Andrey Podkopalov, first secretary of the Sillamyae Estonian Komsomol Gorkom:

"We are close to a split. Some people believe that even the words 'Lenin' and 'Communist' must be removed from the league's title. If you start recalling glorious pages in the Komsomol's history, you will be labeled a 'Stalinist' or 'stagnationist.' The situation in the republic is very complex. And I believe—precisely because of the national friction—that the post of second secretary must be preserved on the Central Committee. For even in the work of many foreign parties there is a cochairman who expresses the interests of national minorities. And on our Central Committee, too, there must be a secretary who expresses the interests of the republic's national minority—the Russian-speaking population...."

Alvar Kaur, first secretary of the Raplaskiy Estonian Komsomol Raykom:

"We are having a strange argument. Why has it all come down to the question of who should hold secretarial posts—Russians or Estonians? Reason clearly suggests that people must be selected for leadership on their professional qualities, not on the basis of nationality. Today we must talk about a Central Committee structure which will help to create a sovereign Estonian youth organization...."

Raul Kadaru, first secretary of the Kharyuskiy Estonian Komsomol Raykom:

"I believe that only people who are true to the interests of Estonia's young people must be in the Komsomol leadership...."

Sergey Pashin, first secretary of the Kalininskiy Estonian Komsomol Raykom:

"Let us speak frankly. Why has the whole question come down to the post of second secretary? Because he has always been the person to maintain direct contact with the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. So we are now talking about breaking that link. The Komsomol members in our rayon are against such a decision...."

This was how this fruitless discussion dragged on hour after hour. In the end, it all boiled down to one question—should there or should there not be a second secretary in the Central Committee structure?

Without reaching even the slightest agreement, they decided to put the question to the vote. And it was then that something unforeseen happened. A large group of Central Committee members, chiefly representatives of Russian-speaking Komsomol organizations, stood up and walked out of the hall.

When they had gone out of the door, throwing down a challenge to the plenum, I recalled the words which Arvi Karotama, chairman of the republic "Sputnik" International Youth Tourism Bureau, had spoken from the plenum rostrum a little earlier: "It seems to me that a struggle is being waged against struggle today. We are not ready to adopt responsible decisions...."

Those remaining in the hall were recounted, and it turned out that there were not enough for a quorum to adopt any decision at all. The plenum found itself in a complete impasse.

To Be Continued

I realize, of course, that any scandal is unpleasant. Particularly one that might cast aspersions on the leadership of the republic Komsomol.

And yet what happened at the Komsomol plenum in Tallinn is not a scandal—it is, above all, a lesson from which the entire republic Komsomol organization must draw conclusions. But this is the question—can young Narva workers, Tartu students, Payde tillers of the soil, and Saaremaa fishermen do this?

After the plenum, alas, the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee Bureau adopted a strange decision—to publish no materials before a new Central Committee plenum adopted corresponding decisions. This is why I am getting so many telephone calls at the correspondents' center, and this is why rumors and gossip are multiplying about the future of Estonia's Komsomol.

Nevertheless, public explanations did follow a few days later. A document entitled "On the Present Situation in the Estonian Lenin Komsomol" was published in the republic's youth newspapers. This is what it says about the reasons why the extraordinary plenum failed: "Differences of opinion arose over the second item on the agenda—the structure of the organs and apparatus of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee. Their discussion showed, on the one hand, the inadequate work of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee Bureau and its Secretariat and, on the other, the reluctance of many plenum participants to understand each other's positions and take them into account." A principled assessment seems to have been made. And yet it seems to me that it is entirely clear only to those who themselves participated in or witnessed the events. But thousands of the republic's Komsomol members still have to fish for the meaning between the newspaper lines, making all kinds of guesses—what happened at that plenum?

Incidentally, the published document contains very remarkable words: "Little information about what is happening reaches the broad public. This creates a situation in which the prepared decisions give rise to doubts about their fairness and the need for them when they reach the youth audience, since it is not clear what causes gave rise to these decisions."

So why did the leadership of the Estonian Komsomol not go further than that statement? Why did it not make public the materials of the unsuccessful plenum, which has alarmed many people in the republic—not only young people but even people of the older generation? Particularly when a compromise has already been found. The Estonian Komsomol Central Committee Bureau has decided that all the present secretaries will remain in their posts. By-elections will be held only for vacancies.

Yes, life has taught the Estonian Komsomol a hard but good lesson. The Central Committee members have seen for themselves how important the desire to understand one another is today. How delicate interethnic problems are in the republic. And how young people need political art in restructuring the life of their league.

Well, people learn from mistakes. And, honestly, it is even a pity that thousands of ordinary Komsomol members have not yet been able to follow the Komsomol Central Committee members in drawing a lesson from the failed plenum. And yet, in the final analysis, restructuring in the Komsomol is being carried out for their sake.

As for ascertaining the paths of restructuring, it has been decided to put them to a new Estonian Komsomol Central Committee plenum, which will soon meet in Tallinn.

What will the Komsomol aktiv bring to this plenum? I would like—I would like very much—to believe that a desire for mutual understanding will bring them into the auditorium this time. Too great a price has to be paid if this is not so. Let us not forget that the most popular slogan in the republic today is "Consolidation!"

Paper Surveys Estonian Public Opinion

PM2511150388 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 48, 26 Nov-2 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 24 Nov 88) p 3

[Unattributed "Assignment Report": "Tallinn. November"]

[Text] **A group of representatives from the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editorial office, comprising Chief Editor V.A. Starkov, Deputy Chief Editor N.I. Zyatkov, and Acting Economic Desk Chief N.N. Zhelnorovich, was in Tallinn from 18 to 20 November on a visit sponsored by the Znaniye Society.**

Meetings took the form of question-and-answer sessions, discussions, and debates. Anyone could attend, and tickets were available through the Znaniye Society. Capacity crowds attended all meetings.

The following conclusions can be drawn as a result of these debates and an analysis of the questions handed in during the meetings and of the notes, suggestions, and documents passed on to us, and also as a result of studying the local press.

—The Russian-speaking and the Estonian population alike are extremely worried by the situation prevailing in the republic. Here are some typical assessments: "We non-Estonians are running the risk of finding ourselves 'abroad,' of becoming 'second-class' citizens." The following idea was expressed by Estonians in private conversations: "How is it possible to talk about secession from the USSR when the republic has virtually no natural resources of its own? Now it is mainly Russians who work on construction sites and in industry in Estonia. What will happen if they were to depart?"

Working people's fears are somewhat fueled by the local press and television: "Why is it that the Interdvizheniye and the United Production Collectives' Council, in contrast with the Popular Front, have no opportunity to enjoy equally broad press coverage of their supporters' views?" we were asked.

—Many people, mainly from among the Russian-speaking section of the population, criticized the haste, the absence of information, and the lack of consideration for the opinion of individual strata of the population when the latest Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session adopted amendments and additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution.

"Estonia has proclaimed its ownership of the land, coastal waters, atmosphere, mineral wealth, and so on. If things carry on like this, gold will end up being owned by Yakutiya, oil by some oblasts or republics, and the

Crimean resorts by others." "It is impossible to agree that all national economic enterprises, the fleet, and so on should become Estonia's property. For decades on end some of the country's regions were literally plundered, while others flourished. This does not apply only to Estonia. But, speaking about the republic, the construction of its largest enterprises (true enough, not always expediently sited due to central departments' diktat), of the new port, the quay, the Olimpiya Hotel, the television tower, and the amateur sailing center accounts for tens and even hundreds of millions of rubles, most of which came from the all-union budget. Now, all this should become the property of the republic. But what sort of property? State, cooperative, or personal? Maybe, with the passage of time, even private? All these forms, according to the amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution, are equally entitled to exist."

The following remarks were also made concerning the declaration of Estonian SSR sovereignty: Deputies did not express the opinion of all voters; the opportunity to vote laws down at the republic level makes it possible to partially or entirely vote down the USSR Constitution as the fundamental law of the USSR; the revision of laws at the local level is an expression of mistrust in USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, including those elected from Estonia.

The following opinions were also expressed in the course of the meetings: "Here in Estonia we have the most advanced restructuring. Our latest supreme soviet is a model of democracy. A Declaration of Independence was adopted for the first time. Let Moscow learn democracy from the Estonian 'nationalists.'"

—Many participants in the meetings emphasized that the new political movement in Estonia, while struggling against "diktat by the center," has itself started dictating its will in the republic.

—It was also noted at the meetings that restructuring of the economic mechanism and the republic's autonomy [samostoyatelnost] are equally necessary, because recently there has been a noticeable decline in living standards, supplies of market commodities, and the quality of output and consumer services.

—The problems raised by the republic's working people demonstrated that the Estonian SSR has a sound base for further restructuring, as well as the need and desire by the broadest strata to participate in it. But it is being conducted insufficiently actively, and mainly in a biased fashion, especially in the sphere of ideology and interethnic relations.

Ordinary people do not want any further aggravation of the situation; they oppose confrontation and extremism regardless of their origin—this is the main conclusion drawn by our group.

Election Law Flaws Worry Sajudis Member

LD2511193988 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Excerpts] As reported previously, a decision concerning two draft laws was adopted by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet at its session last week. These draft laws concern draft amendments to the USSR Constitution and draft election laws to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It was pointed out in the decision that the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR does not support these draft amendments and laws which contradict the decisions adopted at the 19th all-union party conference, and aim at strengthening centralization and restricting the sovereignty of republics while ignoring the principles of federation.

The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet proposed to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that the draft amendments in their present wording not be discussed at the next session, and that discussion should be limited to only those amendments which concern organizing the elections and establishing institutions of the supreme state power.

It was also proposed that the draft amendments to the USSR Constitution should be prepared only after the Constitutions of Union Republics had been prepared and confirmed.

Roma Pakeniene, a Vilnius radio journalist, discusses this decision and the draft amendments to the USSR Constitution with Kazimieras Motieka, a lawyer and member of the Sayudis Seimas Council.

[Begin recording] [Pakeniene] Could you describe in a nutshell what exactly is unacceptable in the present electoral system?

[Motieka] The most unacceptable aspect of the electoral system is that union public organizations have the right to elect one-third of the delegates at their meetings. Not all electors take part in the elections carried out by these organizations; only delegates, participants in conferences or plenums take part in them. Here we have in mind the party, the Komsomol, the trade union organizations, and others. These elected people then elect the deputies. So these electors who elected these delegates have been removed from the selection of the deputies.

We regard this as an essential violation of democracy. Furthermore, it is interesting to note how many deputies these or other organizations have the right to elect. For example, the Communist Party, which has fewer members than such organizations as the Komsomol or the trade union, elects as many deputies as, for example, the trade union does. This also indicates that the system does not correspond to essential democratic electoral principles. [passage omitted]

[Pakeniene] Perhaps we could explain to our listeners why the introduction of amendments was restricted to only some parts of the Constitution, why the entire draft constitution wasn't prepared and submitted for discussion.

[Motieka] It is rather difficult to answer this. It requires a great deal of work. of course, to prepare the draft constitution, and all the more so if one is guided, consistently nowadays, by the decisions adopted at the 19th all- union party conference. Under these conditions, each article of the present Constitution should certainly be revised.

It seems to me that even these draft amendments and supplements to the Constitution have been hurriedly prepared. It begins only with Article 89 of the Constitution, but what about the preceding articles, from 1 to 88? Well, we were told that these would be discussed at a later time, after the discussions of the others had been completed.

However, what is it that mobilizes our attention most of all? The wording of Article 113 is exactly the same as that of Article 73, and as far as I can remember, there are 21 items in it, so that these 21 items have been transferred from Article 73 of the Constitution....

[Pokeniene, interrupting] And, namely, all these restrictions from Article 73, which is currently in force, are placed in Article 113.

[Motieka] So, what follows from this is that when the time comes to discuss Article 73, there will then be nothing left to discuss because all these restrictions for union republics stated in Article 73 would have already been legalized in Article 113. And this is what causes our greatest concern.

We are asked why we are so concerned about Article 73 because this article will not be discussed this time. But we speak about what is going to remain in Article 73 after the current discussions. Nothing will remain in the article; it will be just a number, because the entire contents of this article have already been transferred to Article 113. [end recording]

Estonia's Vyalyas Discusses Supreme Soviet Plenum

LD3011001088 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 29 Nov 88

[From the "Echo of the Day" program]

[Text] There has been much talk here in Moscow about reorganizing and restructuring the political system. There has been a highly critical attitude toward our, Estonian, standpoints. Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party, was kindly willing to sum up the standpoints voiced by the general secretary at the Supreme Soviet Presidium session and after that at the CPSU Central Committee plenum; and naturally, legislation was discussed today also when the extraordinary session of the Supreme Session opened.

[Vyalyas] Comrade Gorbachev presented the plenum with the main thesis of the report. Do we find in it an answer to those questions that excite us so? Yes, undoubtedly, although great work still lies ahead. As has been stated already, the nationwide discussion produced very [word indistinct] results: a great number of additions was made very precisely indeed to two of those draft laws. Those amendments have been handed over to our deputies, who will have an opportunity to compare them with previous texts and amendments. At the same time, the session will undoubtedly add a great number itself. Implementing political reform by stages requires insight and understanding.

Comrade Gorbachev stressed this strongly and repeatedly in his speech at yesterday's plenum, as well as in today's report.

If we now ask whether our republic's proposals—from which we started the conversation as early as the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, at the meeting of the party aktiv thereafter, and at our extraordinary session—were reflected, whether the points we wanted to voice reached Moscow, then we can say with full conviction that undoubtedly they did. Today one need only glance at point four of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum to see much that comes close to or coincides with what was envisaged and planned. The matter is that at the CPSU Plenum, which will deal with the nationality issue—or to be more precise, with nationality questions—very many of the burning points we discussed will be dealt with in a very frank and straightforward way. The constitutional reform continues. Its primary thought—as expressed in point four of the resolution—was the quite irrefuteable course of the party towards increasing the rights of the union republics, and towards harmonizing their relationships throughout the Soviet Union.

The next stage is that of increasing the absolute power of the local soviets—in a word, what we are used to calling by the recent slogan: All power to the soviets. Questions undoubtedly will be raised on whether critical remarks were made at the plenum, and also at our address. Yes, there are, there were. They were, in places, quite radical; they were voiced with complete party straightforwardness. What should our reaction to these be? I think it should be one of comprehension and understanding, because this, indeed, encompasses the process of democratization: that opinions can be contrasted, and that with the contrasting of opinions a definite consensus will be found, which is necessary for solving both the problems we have at present and those of the future. So the questions dealt with our main points—that is, the question of a union republic's sovereignty—or in other

words, increasing the rights of a union republic concerning decisions on its own affairs and the guarantees for this, namely the establishing of a constitution-monitoring commission to which representatives of all the union republics will belong.

Then, for the purpose of estabishing this commission with representatives of all the union republics, so as to begin the next very serious stage: The remaking of our Constitution, or putting together the draft of a new Constitution to its full extent. Comrade Gorbachev said some very remarkable words in his report today: Let it be that not even the smallest question with regard to the interests of the union republics—be they in the economic, nationality relations, ecological, social, or whatever other spheres—be kept to one side. They must definitely be taken into account. When critical remarks are voiced at our address, then we must—as I have stressed already—take an understanding attitude toward them. Evidently, we did not manage to convey everything we wanted with the necessary precision. We gave the people and the deputies insufficient time. Our formulations were not precise. And when a conflict with the all-union Constitution emerged, it was inevitable that this was pointed out to them.

[Word indistinct] undoubtedly another question. [Words indistinct], as you have read in the information announcements, that I also spoke at the plenum. Yes, I did this in the same spirit in which I addressed the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, because such was my party's and the people's mandate. I tried—in a calm and constructive tone—to put forward those problems that were dealt with there and at the Supreme Soviet session as well. I stressed the fact that if we speak of our republic's sovereignty, about increasing our republic's rights, this does not in any way mean separatism of any kind. It does not mean ignoring the all-union, state interests. On the contrary, we want to integrate the republic (?into the all-union scale), in that our contribution should be greater. And this contribution should be such as would manifest itself, first and foremost, in an improved quality of life for the people in our republic, as would expand and manifest itself in implementing those of our processes that we have discussed seriously, meaning language, citizenship, and also the development of these problems, as well as those issues that are particularly sensitive for our small (?country), meaning the question of nature protection and the problem of the ecology. I do not find an insurmountable conflict here, although at the moment, with our critical remarks, we were not always understood.

Perhaps this is a subjective, general impression. I have also asked my comrades who were present at the plenum if this message which I conveyed at the plenum in the name of the Estonian Communist Party, and which I also conveyed in the name of our people, reached the consciousness of those present. And I got a positive reply. In my opinion the reception was constructive and benevolent. [passage indistinct] then this resolution was adopted completely unanimously, and it is quite certain that not only the Estonian CP Central Committee, but our people [break in transmission] CPSU Central Committee's very important resolution will be adopted completely unanimously.

'Irritable Impatience' in Estonian Popular Front

PM2711202488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report: "Impatience Will Not Help"]

[Text] Tallinn—"What is happening in Estonia is restructuring!" These words are written in big letters on a banner. It is raised before the people attending the rally, like a blessing on everything that is happening. The people of Tallinn have come here at the invitation of the council of the Popular Front board. I quote:

"The Popular Front board calls for rallies and demonstrations to be held throughout the republic at 1200 on 26 November in support of the decisions of the extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. Under the slogan 'Sovereignty and Consolidation.' Similar rallies will be held in Latvia and Lithuania. In Tallinn the demonstration will begin at 1200 hours. We call on all inhabitants of the republic to express support for the sovereignty of the union republics."

It was hardly by chance that the time of the rally coincided with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session.

Naturally, it is the right of a social movement to explain and defend its viewpoint, but without taking away the same right from other movements and groups, even if they have a different, alternative viewpoint. Especially if all sides proclaim restructuring—that is, the socialist renewal of the country—to be their goal. But alas, for many speakers at the rally the words "restructuring," "democracy," and "sovereignty" did not presuppose renewal, but were frankly identified with slogans like: "An end to colonial policy in Estonia," "Estonia is not an oblast," "No to antidemocratic Moscow"....

If this is a step toward consolidation, consolidation with whom? A spontaneous expression of will? Hardly. I am well acquainted with the ability of the Popular Front leaders and activists to plan and carry out mass measures extremely well. Also, the organizers and speakers had plenty of opportunities to gently and intelligently remove the unnecessary emotional tension generated by such slogans. After all, it is not right to liken the Soviet Union to a colonial empire, with Russia as the metropolitan country. In life, in history, things are much more complicated. And there is no reason to transfer common troubles and grief to one nation, one republic, one capital. It is also naive to expect that each republic and each nation would escape from the past more rapidly in

isolation, by cutting itself off from everyone else with laws of its own. Both in the economy and in politics we have reached the stage where either we all work together to advance the cause of true socialist reconstruction, or we destroy it by putting our energy into seeking and settling mutual grievances.

I realize that these words will meet with a negative reaction from the activists in the rally. Today the central press has been declared the chief opponent of everything happening in Estonia. People have temporarily forgotten how much this press did to propagandize Estonia's initiatives, sometimes in advance. And if the tone of the pres has changed somewhat, perhaps one should consider objectively: Why? A dialogue with the press by means of offensive slogans benefits no one. "TASS—information or disinformation." "PRAVDA is lies." "IZVESTIYA is slander." These slogans are an angry reaction to materials on the decisions of the extraordinary session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet. I ask several people at the rally: What specifically are their complaints against IZVESTIYA? They cannot explain or give examples of misrepresented facts. Nor did our newspaper carry any materials of its own on the republic Supreme Soviet session. The commentaries we published by scientists on particular political problems? Please, take it up with the authors, argue with them. But why these labels, these loud accusations with nothing to back them up? Is it just for the sake of trenchancy, of confrontation?

Like the other union republics, Estonia has accumulated many urgent economic and social problems. Problems that directly concern interethnic relations.

Priorities should always be set in objectives and tasks. Impatience is a brake, not an accelerator. And especially irritable impatience. But no one even mentioned that at the rally. How many times I have gone away from a meeting of thousands of people wondering why there was no objective, explanatory address by party workers? How can they not take advantage of such a platform, even in the street in the cold wind, to express their opinion, their position? Report and election conferences were held in three Tallinn raykoms on Saturday. And in another 10 raykoms in the republic. Naturally, preparations had been made for them in advance, and they could not be postponed because of the rallies. But how can the raykoms, the gorkom, and the Central Committee find it possible to take no notice of the rallies everywhere? The crowds of thousands of people in the streets, listening sometimes to highly irresponsible speakers? Yet that was what happened on 15 November, too, when the united council of production collectives held rallies at 197 enterprises in 5 cities in the republic. Some 98,400 working people took part. Party raykom and gorkom workers did not enter into discussion with the working people. Next in line are rallies on the initiative of Interdvizheniye. With all due respect for each of the movements, objective evaluations of their words and actions are needed. The party's leading role does not lie in neutrality or a wait-and-see attitude. Clear party words should be heard, to ensure that everything happening in the republic really is restructuring....

Lithuanian Deputies Oppose Legal Amendments

LD2911123488 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Interview with USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Leopoldas Petravicius, general director of the Akmene Cement Works, by telephone from Moscow "Rossiya" Hotel by Vilnius radio correspondent Aleksas Miksys—live]

[Text] [Petravicius] Yesterday night all the Supreme Soviet deputies who arrived in Moscow gathered at the Lithuanian Consulate in Moscow to talk things over. [Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary] Comrade Astrauskas was present; he voiced his opinion, and we submitted our opinion.

Nevertheless, we decided to write a statement to the chairmen of the Chamber of the Unions and the Chamber of Nationalities. We set out our opinion in principle in the statements. We said that amendments to the laws under discussion not only do not increase the self-dependence of individual republics but even diminish their rights. At the same time, the principles of democracy, which should expand the rights of soviets and regional self-financing, are refuted.

Therefore, we proposed that only laws concerning elections should be discussed at this session, and at the same time the idea that deputies should be elected by public organizations should be abandoned.

It would be logical and democratic if only basic structural changes were to be defined at the current session, and if the basic principles of our supreme power were to be discussed. We are prepared to take a vote on that only.

We all signed this statement and today it will be submitted to the chairmen of the Chamber of the Union and the Chamber of Nationalities.

[Miksys] Do you already have the agenda of the session?

[Petravicius] Yes, we have the schedule of how the sittings will proceed. Today the session will last up to 1900. The session will last for 3 days: today, tomorrow and the day after. It has been planned to conclude the session the day after tomorrow at about 1500.

Lithuanian Party Condemns Sajudis Actions

LD3011104088 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Summary] A decision concerning the current political situation in Lithuania has been adopted by the Bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. The decision has been published in the press.

The decision pointed out that it is necessary at present to rally the creative forces of all nationalities living in Lithuania on the basis of equality among nationalities, friendship, and socialist humanism.

The recent session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic was given the highest evaluation; it was referred to as "an important step toward restructuring; historic, especially important decisions for the Lithuanian nation were adopted at the session, namely the state status for the Lithuanian language, the state flag, and the anthem. Having taken into consideration the will of the people, a very important decision was adopted concerning draft amendments to the USSR Constitution proposing to reject part of them as imperfect."

"Although Sajudis has made a considerable contribution in the renovation of our society recently, the decision points out, unreal political demands, noisy anti-state actions, and personal arrogance have taken the upper hand in the activities of some leaders of Sajudis.

"We cannot help noticing the fact that some leaders of Sajudis, the decision points out, avoid dissociating themselves from outsiders who do not conceal their objectives to secede from the Soviet Union and restore bourgeois power in Lithuania. Joining them, they negate and blacked everything that has been created by the Soviet people over decades."

The Bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee stressed in its decision that such a position is incompatible with the declarations voiced by Sajudis, saying that Sajudis was concerned about Lithuania's future, setting up a rule-of-law state, and the consolidation of people for the sake of our future.

"The sovereignty of the republic can be achieved not by slogans dicatated by maximalism or by unmeasured leaps but by united resolution, concord, and sound political reasoning.

"If the leaders of Sajudis assess this and understand this then a bridge will be built for further fruitful dialogue. The Lithuanian Communist Party, its Central Committee, and citizens of the republic are striving for this concord and cooperation."

Latvians Protest CINA Attack on Front Leader

PM2511161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Own correspondent O. Meshkov dispatch under the rubric "Fact and Comment": "Tempest in a Teapot..."]

[Text] Riga—There is no denying it: Passions are running high at the moment. But especially now, in the current complex situation, what is needed most is self-possession and good sense. Otherwise it will be difficult to achieve the much-needed consolidation of all the republic's healthy forces to implement the complex task of improving interethnic relations and resolving in the spirit of restructuring the problems which have accumulated. Intolerance and categorical stances are poor helpmates in the prevailing situation. Unfortunately, by no means all people have grasped this simple truth. Here is a characteristic example.

The latest popular "Labvakar!" ("Good Evening") program on Latvian television, which was broadcast live, featured Daynis Ivans, the leader of the Latvian Popular Front. He called on viewers to take part in a demonstration protesting the draft Law on Amendments to the USSR Constitution on 26 November. CINA, the republic's party newspaper, published an editorial under the headline "Democracy and Responsibility" assessing this action. It was described as an incorrect step by a leader of a new sociopolitical organization, as a deviation from the program documents of the Latvian Popular Front, as an act which hampers efforts to guide the processes of restructuring into a constructive channel. Literally the next day, as if in response to a call for attack, the editorial office was swamped with protests against the stand taken by the newspaper. At a news conference organized by a number of leaders of the NFL [Latvian Popular Front] Duma at Press House the question was angrily posed: "Who is the author of the editorial?" And it was suggested that the editor of CINA give a news conference together with Latvian Communist Party Central Committee officials. You might be led to believe that something quite out of the ordinary had happened.

On the same evening a ceremonial event devoted to the 400th anniversary of books in Latvia was held at the A. Upita Latvian SSR State Academy Drama Theater.

"I had to leave during the interval," Y. Britans, editor of CINA, told me. "The duty shift telephoned and asked me to come to the editorial office as a matter of urgency, explaining that they would be unable to publish because of endless telephone calls and outsiders outraged by the editorial who were calling at the office..."

During the editor's absence A. Liyedskalninya, a leading actress, addressed the public on behalf of the theater's "support group" of the Popular Front and invited everyone to send a cable to the CINA editorial office protesting the editorial.

A little later, in conversation with I. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, who expressed surprise at her behavior, the actress explained:

"One of the leaders of the Duma rang up and said that Daynis Ivans was being threatened."

The editorial desk is piled high with letters and cables of this kind. The telephone never stops ringing.

But who has been threatening the leader of the NFL? Or does this mean that his stance cannot be criticized? Or could it be that someone has an interest in nipping in the bud, as they say, any opinion that does not coincide with the position of the leaders of the NFL? But that would be truly undemocratic. However, if one lends credence to the program documents of the NFL, the struggle for the further expansion of democratization is one of the key areas of its activity. But how is the one compatible with the other?

IZVESTIYA Readers Consider Draft Laws

Limited List Advocated

PM2311135788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Letter from Professor, Doctor of Juridical Sciences B. Strashun, head of department at the All-Union Legal Correspondence Institute, under the rubric "Your Opinion? We Discuss the Draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the Draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "...No, There Should Be Just One List"]

[Text] There are objections to public organizations' being directly represented in the Congress of People's Deputies. I feel, however, that the flood of objections has been prompted not so much by the principle of that representation itself as by the proposed legal model for implementing it. I would at least like to present three arguments in defense of this principle.

First, deputies elected in electoral okrugs must of necessity primarily represent the interests of the people living in those okrugs—in other words, local interests. But who will primarily represent the interests of the whole people and the interests of such social groups as workers in the socialized sphere, who comprise the overwhelming majority of our active population, or women, whose social position is still in fact much worse than that of men, or young people, veterans, and so on?

Second, there are people popular in the country as a result of their professional activity (artists, writers, sportsmen, doctors, and so forth), which often is not connected with any particular territory. If such people were nominated as candidates in an electoral okrug, the competition could prove an unequal one for other candidates who had worthily demonstrated their abilities in their collectives, despite the fact that these other candidates might better represent the interests of the electoral okrug, as their whole life was connected with the territory in question.

Finally, third, would it be fair if the question of whether the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for example, can be a USSR people's deputy were to be decided, as has always been the case until now, by the electorate of just one electoral okrug, which comprises an insignificant minority in terms of the country's electorate as a whole?

But in order to optimize the model of representation of public organizations and eliminate the majority of objections, I propose reducing the number of these representatives to 75 or fewer and approving the list of these representatives in a national vote, as they do in Hungary and Poland. In any case, their nominations should be decided at the congresses and conferences of the public organizations in question.

Now the subject of direct elections for the position of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They would remove him from the jurisdiction of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Like the Congress, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet would be given his powers directly from the electorate and consequently would not be politically responsible to the Congress for his activity. But it would be virtually impossible for the electorate to monitor the current activity of the chairman and ensure his political responsibility for it. It is no accident that the head of state is responsible to his citizens in every country where those citizens are responsible for his election to power. He is answerable to parliament or a special legal body if he violates the constitution or the law but he is not answerable for his policies. In socialist conditions this system is unacceptable: Any state body must be answerable for its policies.

What is more, if the above proposal for a nationwide vote on the list of candidates from the CPSU and other public organizations were approved, candidacies for chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet would thereby be subject to the vote of the electorate—not for the position of chairman but for a USSR people's deputy mandate allowing him subsequently to enter the ballot for the chairmanship. Nationwide approval would thereby be secured and political responsibility to the Congress of People's Deputies assured.

Vote for Leader Advocated

PM2311133988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Readers' letter under the rubric "Your Opinion? We Discuss the Draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Elections: Candidates' Competition and Voters' Position"]

[Text] Among a number of the drafts' provisions there are, in our view, two main questions whose democratic solution determines whether our society will really take a

major step forward on the path of social progress. They are the question of electing deputies from public organizations and the question of electing the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman.

The system of electing people's deputies from public organizations envisaged by the draft laws makes these elections nonuniversal, unequal, and indirect. We believe that **it is possible to change this provision and organize the election of people's deputies from public organizations on the single basis of a universal, direct, and equal right to vote in a secret ballot.** For this the elections in each territorial okrug should be held on two mandates: the first a mandate from the territorial okrug, and the second a mandate from the public organizations nominating candidates as deputies from their own all-union, republic, oblast and other organs (at congresses, conferences, plenums, and assemblies). In each territorial okrug, each public organization or group of organizations (election bloc) has the right to nominate one candidate deputy. The procedure for electing deputies from public organizations coincides with the procedure for electing deputies from the territorial okrug: They are elected by all the voters of a given okrug on the basis of the universal, direct, and equal right to vote in a secret ballot, and the person elected is the candidate who wins more than half the votes cast. This would introduce into the electoral system the principle of competition to be USSR people's deputies among candidates representing different public organizations.

In this case the need to set norms for public organizations' representation in the Congress of People's Deputies "from above" does not arise. Across the country as a whole the same total of 750 deputies from public organizations are elected, but the norm for each organization's representation is determined each time by the will of the voters themselves and by the results of their choice.

The same principle, we believe, should be followed in the election of the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, whose activity directly affects the interests of every citizen in the country. Past lessons convince us that all voters, directly, and not a narrow circle of individuals, should take part in the election of the head of state. Then and only then will we be safeguarded against the possible emergence of a new personality cult or a new stagnation period. It is advisable to nominate several candidates for the post of USSR Supreme Soviet chairman (at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies). Each candidate should have the right to present his program of specific solutions to the most important questions of the country's life. The USSR Supreme Soviet chairman should be elected by universal, direct, and equal voting from among several candidates by secret ballot.

[Signed] A. Alistratov, engineer; A. Bogdanov, scientific worker; V. Sobolev, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences; N. Sulima, worker (and others—a total of 92 signatures)

Donetsk

Book Commission Concludes Review for Exclusion

LD2711075488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] The interdepartmental commission formed 18 months ago to examine the collated list of books which are excluded from libraries and the book trade network has concluded its work. Some 7,930 previously forbidden publications are now freely available and may be reprinted. The commission examined not only the works of figures active in the revolutionary movement who have now been rehabilitated, but also those by people whom we consider even now to be ideological opponents: Trotskiy, Kerenskiy, Denikin, and Milyukov. Readers will look into their views.

The commission was guided by a clear and simple principle: Everything is permitted which does not contain calls to stir up war, interethnic conflicts, and pornography. Nevertheless, 461 books remain restricted. The majority are those publications which came out during the Civil War in the territories occupied by the whites. Also on the same list is Zionist literature and eulogistic odes to Beriya, Yezhov, and Yagoda, the distribution of which now, knowing the millions of victims tormented by those hangmen, would simply be blasphemous.

Medvedev Interview Opens KOMMUNIST

PM2911100388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on contents of KOMMUNIST No 17: "Published"]

[Text] The international scientific conference "Urgent Problems in the Development of Modern Socialism," held in Moscow at the beginning of October, aroused great public interest. The editorial board of the journal KOMMUNIST asked V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to answer some questions touched on in his speech at the conference, as well as others concerning problems of ideological work at the contemporary stage of our society's development. This material opens the latest, 17th issue of the journal KOMMUNIST under the headline "Toward Cognition of Socialism."

The publication of materials devoted to the development of new economic relations in the countryside—leasing, above all—is continued in the section "Restructuring: Theory and Experience." "'Repeasantizing' the Peasant" is the title of an interview with Ye. Stroyev, first secretary of Orel party obkom, devoted to these questions.

Ye. Gaydar and O. Latsis write about the problem of the state budget deficit and about the possibilities of overcoming it.

N. Nikolayev's report "People and Steel" and V. Ovcharov's report "Unusual Assignments" tell about the reports and elections in the party.

One of the ways of resolving the food problem is to raise catering standards. Academician A. Ugolev writes about this in his article.

In the article "The Individual, Individuality, and Personality" the journal introduces the new textbook "Introduction to Philosophy," which is being prepared for publication in 1989 by the Political Literature Publishing House.

Problems of the school reform are discussed under the rubric "Science and Education," which incorporates the following articles: V. Piroshkov's "Lenin's Decrees on Schooling and the Restructuring of Education"; A. Kargin's "The Reform Is As Good As the Teacher"; and V. Matveyev's "School: The Path to Revival" are carried.

The journal's discussion section is represented by G. Khanin's article "Economic Growth: An Alternative Assessment."

An article by MSZMP Chairman Janos Kadar is devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Hungarian Communist Party. The reportage "Paths of Integration: the 'Ivanovo-Sofia' Association," prepared by correspondents of KOMMUNIST and the BCP Central Committee journal NOVO VREME, is also carried under the rubric "In the Socialist Countries: Achievements, Problems, Quest."

N. Dolgopolova and A. Kokoshin's article "What Do the Destinies of Great Powers Teach Us?" and an interview with WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria entitled "For a Joint International Strategy of the Trade Union Movement" are carried under the rubric "The Modern World: Trends and Contradictions."

Critical-bibliographical materials and news items are carried.

Further on KOMMUNIST

PM0911110988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] "The Prestige of the Party Worker" is the headline of the article opening the latest issue, No 16, of the journal KOMMUNIST. Its author—L. Kletskov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Grodno Obkom—reflects on the work style of the party leader and analyzes the first results of the reports and elections in the oblast party organization.

V. Bambayev, first secretary of Iki-Burulskiy party raykom, Kalmyk ASSR, talks about the experience of work to switch to the lease contract. An article by V. Lipitskiy "The Cooperative System: Lenin's Plan and Implementation" and notes by journalist Ya. Golovanov "Cosmonautics In the Mirror of Glasnost" are published in the section "Restructuring: Theory and Experience."

Is it possible to carry on economic activity without departments? Economist A. Ulyukayev offers his answer to this question in an article printed under the rubric "Rereading the Transcript of the Party Conference."

The journal's debate section is devoted to discussion of the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies. An article by B. Lazarev "'Separation of Powers' and the Experience of the Soviet State" and readers' letters are published.

The work of the 18th World Philosophical Congress held recently in Brighton is discussed in an article "The Humanism of Philosophy and the Philosophy of Humanism" prepared by a group of scientists. The problems of society's spiritual life are touched on in philosopher L. Smolyakov's reflections "On the Intelligentsia and Intellectuality."

What is happening to small ethnic groups in the North nowadays? A. Pika and B. Prokhorov, staffers at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Population, write about this.

The rubric "Pages of History" is devoted to the 71st anniversary of the October Revolution. An article by M. Pokrovskiy, the prominent scientist and historian, entitled the "Soviet Chapter of Our History" which was printed in BOLSHEVIK in 1924 is reproduced. Contemporary tasks and problems concerning the methodology of studying October are analyzed by P. Volobuyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The experience of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation in the form of joint enterprises was debated at the "roundtable" held by KOMMUNIST and NAMYN AMIDRAL in Erdenet (Mongolia). V. Musatov talks about the work of the MSZMP Hungarian National Confernce held in May 1988.

International topics are also represented by material from sociologists' research program "International Barometer of Peace" devoted to studying the dynamics of public opinion on foreign policy questions. Finnish Social Democrat E. Tuomioja contemplates the problems of constructing an "all-European home" under the rubric "Outside View."

Criticism and bibliographical material and a chronicle are also published.

Details of New Central Committee Journal

PM1611111188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "On Subscribing to the Journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS"]

[Text] Subscription to the new monthly news journal IZVESTIYA TSENTRALNOGO KOMITETA KOMMUNISTICHESKOY PARTII SOVETSKOGO SOYUZA (IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS) is opening. By decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo its publication begins in January 1989.

The new party journal will follow the traditions of IZVESTIYA TSK RKP(B), which was published under V.I. Lenin, and the demands of the 19th all-union party conference to increase openness and glasnost in CPSU policy and widely inform Communists and all the country's working people about the work of the party's top organs and its other components.

Decisions of the party's top organs, materials of Central Committee plenums, and also draft resolutions on major questions of party and social life submitted for broad discussion will be officially published in the journal's pages. It is planned to publish up to three special additional issues of the journal each year without changing the annual subscription cost and also to publish, as the need arises, collections and mini libraries of party documents as supplements to the journal, for which a charge is to be made and which are to be distributed on subscription and through retail sales.

The journal will regularly inform Communists and the broad public about the current activity of the Central Committee, its Politburo, and Central Committee commissions and departments and publish verbatim records of the most important sessions, conferences, and meetings at the CPSU Central Committee.

IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS will publish materials on the progress of restructuring in the party both at the center and in the provinces, on the new structure of the party apparatus, and on leaders of the CPSU Central Committee and of republic and local party committees. It is planned to regularly report on the election and appointment of party workers and to print their biographies. News from party organizations will occupy an important place in the journal's materials.

The journal will carry documents of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on the additional study of materials connected with the repressions that took place in the period of the thirties and forties and the early fifties, as well as reports on questions examined at the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

It is proposed to print information on the state of the party budget, on classes of its income and expenditure, on the activities of the party's central establishments, on the development of the party press, and on work on training party cadres and raising their qualifications.

The journal will give wide coverage to mail sent to the CPSU Central Committee. It is planned to publish both citizens' individual letters and reviews of working people's letters and oral appeals to the Central Committee relating to the most urgent issues in the life of society. The journal will report on the most important instructions of CPSU Central Committee secretaries and Central Committee department leaders relating to problems raised in letters, as well as on the decisions adopted in this connection.

A significant place in IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS is allocated to materials from the party's archives—above all, from the CPSU Central Committee archives. It is proposed to regularly publish in the journal documents, historical-analytical reviews, and photographs reflecting the most important historical events in socialist building and crucial stages in the life of the party and Soviet society.

The reader will familiarize himself with many previously unpublished documents—verbatim records of sessions, speeches, reports, instructions, letters, memoirs of leading figures in the party and the Soviet state, and materials from the archives of Ya.M. Sverdlov, F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, M.V. Frunze, S.M. Kirov, N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov, I.V. Stalin, G.Ye. Zinovyev, L.B. Kamenev, M.I. Kalinin, A.M. Kollontay, Ye.D. Stasova, V.V. Kuybyshev, G.K. Ordzhonikidze, V.M. Molotov, A.I. Mikoyan, K.Ye. Voroshilov, N.S. Khrushchev, L.I. Brezhnev, and others. The journal will print unknown letters by N.K. Krupskaya, A.V. Lunacharskiy, A.M. Gorkiy, M.A. Sholokhov, M.A. Bulgakov, I.G. Erenburg, D. Bednyy, N.I. Vavilov, Ye.V. Tarle, P.L. Kapitsa, R. Rolland, L. Feuchtwanger, and other figures of Soviet and world culture, which they addressed to the party's Central Committee. Other documents which come to light in the course of studying the party's archives will also be printed.

The journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS, which will run to up to 20 printer's sheets, will be distributed on subscription and through retail sales both in our country and abroad. The price of a single issue in a soft cover is R1, and in a hard cover R1.50. The cost of a year's subscription is R12 in soft cover (subscription index 70417) and R18 in hard cover (subscription index 70418). Subscriptions are being accepted through 15 December in every post office or through public press distributors.

Legal Representatives To Form Jurists Union

PM2211162188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with M. Marchenko, dean of the Moscow State University Legal Faculty, by TASS correspondent V. Zadera: "Jurists Union Is Being Created"]

[Text] The participants in a meeting of representatives of the legal public held in Moscow deemed it essential to create a new mass organization—the USSR Jurists Union [Soyuz Yuristov SSSR]. The new public formation is described to TASS correspondent V. Zadera by M. Marchenko, dean of the Moscow State University Legal Faculty and chairman of the preparatory commission for holding the union's inaugural conference:

[Marchenko] The need to create the Jurists' Union was generated by life itself. After all, in the majority of countries, including all socialist countries, such associations or national unions have existed for a long time.

The Soviet legal public unanimously welcomed the idea of organizing a union. It is supposed that at least 10 inaugural members are needed for its creation. But even now, without waiting for the appeal from the preparatory committee, a considerably larger number of organizations have expressed the desire to act in this role. They include the USSR Ministry of Justice, the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR MVD, the AUCCTU, the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University, and others.

[Zadera] How do you see the aims and tasks of the new public organization?

[Marchenko] It will serve primarily to pool the efforts of legal cadres with a view to activating them in creating the rule-of-law state—elaborating questions of legal reform, improving their professional standard, organizing legal elementary education, and propagandizing the law with a view to improving working people's awareness of the law.

The union will also promote the development of cooperation between specialized professional legal groups, defend the rights and interests of jurists (and they need this more frequently than is usually thought), and concern itself for improving the material and consumer conditions of their lives.

Finally, it will establish and maintain ties with colleagues from other countries, primarily socialist countries, with a view to elaborating and observing the principles of international law and human rights.

[Zadera] It follows from what you have said that the union's sphere of activity will be considerably broader than, for instance, that of creative unions, labor unions, or the various legal associations which exist now?

[Marchenko] The question of what the union will be will still require specialized discussion, but in general outline it may be said that it will be a voluntary all-union public organization uniting a wide range of jurists on a professional basis (theorists, practical workers, workers in the law enforcement organs, and so forth). In that it differs from associations of lawyers which as a rule are specialized and unite scientific employees.

The question of membership of the union will be examined during the drafting of its charter by a special commission. It is planned that each of more than 300,000 Soviet jurists may be a member of the union. Its mass nature conditions the creation of sections for various avenues of legal activity, both theoretical and practical. The union also intends to establish broad ties with currently existing associations—the International Law Association, the Association of Soviet Jurists, and the Association of Soviet Barristers [Assotsatsiya sovetskikh advokatov] which is now being created.

[Zadera] When is it planned to hold the first congress?

[Marchenko] The inaugural conference will be held, provisionally, in December. It will determine the venue and date for the congress. It will form, on a broad democratic basis, a preparatory committee for holding the union's first congress and a commission to draft its charter.

Reader Urges End to Publication of Greetings

PM2211151588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from reader F. Bagautdibov under the rubric "Letters... 'Not for Publication'": "It Would Be Enough To List Them"]

[Text] Leninabad—Our press now contains far fewer eulogies, high-flown publications, and so forth. The majority of published items are to the point. Perhaps the only exception is the telegrams of congratulations sent by the heads of foreign states on our holidays. It would be possible simply to list briefly who has sent congratulations and no more. And use the newspaper area to publish topical articles and sharp letters from readers.

I don't know, perhaps these telegrams must be published in accordance with some written or unwritten procedure? But after all, we have recently abandoned many obsolete customs. Perhaps we can also do without the full text of these telegrams?

[Signed] F. Bagautdibov

'Casualties' Noted in Sakhalin Storms

LD2811153088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] An emergency situation has arisen in Sakhalin after an onset of the elements. At the end of the past week three cyclones hit the southern part of the peninsula one after another. A hurricane with rain and snow reached 30 and more meters a second. It was raging for almost 2 days and has caused much damage. The storm has sent about 300 power supply pylons toppling and twisted them literally into pretzels. It ripped apart wires, sending posts and trees toppling and bringing waves of ice to the shore.

On the eastern coast it washed out dual carriage ways and a railway line. A critical situation has arisen at a number of enterprises. A mine has been flooded. There are casualties. The oblast headquarters for the elimination of the consequences of the natural disaster is working around the clock. Aid is being given by garrison servicemen. An enlarged bureau of the Sakhalin obkom that has been held today discussed very urgent measures for giving help to the population, enterprises, and organizations which have fallen victim to the elements. An appeal to all the working people of the oblast has been adopted.

Agricultural

Gorbachev Visits Agro-Industrial Exhibit 25 Nov

PM2811112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Visit to Exhibition. New Equipment for Processing Enterprises"]

[Text] Practical experience has revealed that without modern technologies and effective organization of the processing and storage of agricultural produce, rapid progress in the implementation of the Food Program cannot be achieved. This task is currently being tackled by virtually the entire machine-building complex and the country's defense industry sectors. What has been done to date by the machine-building industries and the USSR Agroprom to achieve a breakthrough into the sphere of the latest technologies? This is graphically demonstrated at an exhibition of production equipment for agro-industrial complex processing and food industries which has been organized at the USSR National Economic Achievements Exhibition.

On 25 November M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, acquainted himself with the exhibition.

He was accompanied by Comrades V.I. Vorotnikov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, A.V. Vlasov, G.P. Razumovskiy, and O.D. Baklanov.

During the inspection of the exhibits and conversations with designers and heads of ministries and departments, progress in meeting the targets for the production of the latest machinery and equipment set in CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions was discussed. It was noted that ministries and their enterprises are resolutely turning toward accelerating the scientific and technical process and the retooling of the material base of the food complex. Many leading scientific research and design organizations are involved in this work. A quest for optimum ways of manufacturing machinery and equipment in line with modern international standards and for the application of progressive technologies and materials and electronic control systems is under way.

The new machines and units displayed at the exhibition are noted for their high productivity and economical operation. M.S. Gorbachev emphasized the need to pay more attention to the development not only of individual units but also of whole production lines which will make possible the highly efficient processing of agricultural raw materials and the prevention of unjustified losses. Ministry and department leaders were advised to organize the series production of new equipment as swiftly as possible with a view to meeting orders for this equipment in the very near future, and also to ensure the technical servicing of this equipment. Compact equipment for processing and food enterprises, especially small- and medium-size enterprises located directly at the site of raw material production, is needed first and foremost.

M.S. Gorbachev noted that machine builders have a large debt to leasing contract operators and cooperative members who badly need reliable and cheap equipment to process everything that they produce in the fields, at livestock units, in orchards, and on vegetable plots.

An invariable precondition of the implementation of the outlined plans is the harmonious and well-coordinated operation of machine-building ministries, the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Gossnab, and other departments, and the timely fulfillment of orders for equipment not only for new enterprises but also for enterprises undergoing reconstruction.

Summing up the results of the exchange of opinions which had taken place, M.S. Gorbachev said: The main importance of the exhibition of the latest models of equipment is that it reflects the practical steps of restructuring in the machine-building complex and its focus on the needs of the agro-industrial complex processing and food sectors as a task which brooks no delay. It is now a question of creating, as swiftly as possible, a reliable technical arsenal for intensifying the entire food production process—that is, resolving one of the key social tasks set by the 19th all-union party conference.

The following gave explanations at the exhibition: V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and I.V. Koksanov, L.D. Ryabev, A.S. Systsov, and P.V. Finogenov, USSR ministers

Agricultural Developments for 21-29 Nov

LD3011024288 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 21-29 November. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

21 November

Uzbekistan has fulfilled its plan and pledges for cotton procurement, and sales to the state continue. More than 5.3 million tonnes of raw cotton have so far reached procurement points. It is expected that nearly 200,000 tonnes more thread will be produced from it than last year. (0430)

Kirghiz farmers have finished sowing winter grain, which covers 250,000 hectares of irrigated land. This is the crop that gives the biggest yield in the republics. (0700)

22 November

No fileworthy items monitored.

23 November

Ukrainian sugar beet growers are unlikely to deliver the planned amount of beet to the state. However, the RSFSR, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Latvia, and Armenia have fulfilled state orders. Over 77 million tonnes of beets have been delivered to sugar works; this is 95 percent of the state order. Beet harvesting has just begun in Georgia. Over 5.3 million tonnes of sugar have already been produced in the USSR as a whole. (1200)

24 November

The livestock breeders of Belorussia have fulfilled the year's plan for the sale of milk to the state. Wintering is taking place in difficult conditions in the republic. Ten percent less feed has been procured than planned. On farms more than 5,000 feed preparation plants are operating. Two-thirds of the farms have gone over to lease contracting. (0000)

In Uzbekistan autumn plowing has been completed on over 1 million hectares, half of the land that was sown to cotton. In the Karakalpak autonomous republic autumn plowing is almost completed. (0304)

25-28 November

No fileworthy items monitored.

29 November

Farmers in North Ossetia have completed the harvest of grain corn and 107,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to procurement points. (0700)

A number of Tajikistan's cotton farms have been reorientated toward the production of food. The so-called early winter planting of potatoes and vegetables has started there on plots where the industrial crop was still grown this year. (2050)

Military

Marshals Ogarkov, Petrov Open Malinovskiy Soiree
PM2511152788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 First Edition p 2

["Our Correspondent" report: "Soiree in R.Ya. Malinovskiy's Memory"]

[Text] A soiree to mark the 90th birth anniversary of Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Marshal of the Soviet Union Rodion Yakovlevich Malinovskiy was held in the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army 23 November.

The soiree was opened by Marshal of the Soviet Union V. Petrov.

A report was read by Marshal of the Soviet Union N. Ogarkov.

Reminiscences about R.Ya. Malinovskiy were shared by Army General N. Lyashchenko, Army General I. Shkadov, Army General S. Vasyagin, Marshal of Aviation N. Skomorokhov, and Colonel, Retired, A. Gorbunov.

Latvian Commissar Interviewed on Latest Draft
PM1711135788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 First Edition p4

[Interview with Major General Ya. Duda, Latvian military commissar, by Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh, own permanent correspondent for the Baltic Military District, under the rubric "Draft in Progress": "Duty Of Our Sons"—date, place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Getting in contact with Major General Ya. Duda, Latvian military commissar, is no easy matter these days. The fall draft is in progress. This is a kind of peak period in the work of the military commissariats. And in the work of the republic's military commissar. He has to know—which means seeing for himself—how matters are organized at the assembly point.

However, a conversation did take place between Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh, our permanent correspondent for the Baltic Military District, and the Latvian SSR military commissar.

[Ziyeminsh] Yanis Boleslavovich, drafting for active military service in the Soviet Armed Forces has been in progress for more than a month. This is regular draft procedure. But the republic is giving it extra attention....

[Duda] The public's heightened interest in and attention to the current draft is connected with the beginning of activity by the Latvian People's Front, whose program documents include a series of clauses on military matters, such as preparing young people for Army service. They propose, in particular, changing the present system of elementary military training in secondary schools and military training in VUZ's. So, what can I say about this? Some parents—albeit not very many—feel that peace for their families should be provided by the sons of other mothers and fathers. Yes, every parent has the right to dream of their children becoming famous violinists or mathematicians.... But we will only have all this—conservatories, VUZ's, and a roof over our heads—if we train to defend our hearth and home. That is why young people must spend some time in the Army.

[Ziyeminsh] Is there anything at present that is a source of concern to military commissariat workers—attempts to evade Army service, for example?

[Duda] No, no such cases have been recorded in any of the republic's military commissariats at present. The draft is going according to schedule. We will sum up the final results in December and convey them to party and soviet bodies. In principle I do not rule out the possibility that there could be some cases of people evading the regular draft for active military service. I have had occasion in the past to talk to young people who are "protected" by their mothers and fathers. If you talk frankly to them, they blush for their parents. Those who feel no shame are suffering from spiritual blindness, a most serious affliction that no doctor can cure.

[Ziyeminsh] I agree with you. But it would certainly be wrong to merely rely on military-patriotic education within the family.... As a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA article of 15 September this year—"Do Not Just State the Facts"—pointed out, every year an average of more than 800 young people in the republic are drafted into service without having had any elementary military training....

[Duda] As far as the figure of 800 is concerned, I am sure that it will be brought down during the current draft. This year 18 more training centers were opened to provide elementary military training. The republic leadership has also given us active support in other issues. For example, a new assembly point is being built in Riga and we will soon be beginning the certification of military leaders....